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Title: In Search of ‘Alī ibn abī Ṭālib’s Codex: Study of the Traditions on the Earliest Copy of the Qur’ān

ABSTRACT

The history of the text of the Qur’ān has been a longstanding subject of interest within the field of Islamic Studies, but the debate has so far been focused on the Sunnī traditions about the codices of Caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Uthmān b. Affān. Little to no attention has been given to the traditions on ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collection of the Qur’ān. The Shī’ite school of thought has claimed that ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib collated the first copy of the Qur’ān, right after the demise of the Prophet. In addition to several Shī’ite traditions on the subject, there is also a significant number of Sunnī traditions in a similar vein, recorded in some of the earliest Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections. The present thesis examines both Shī’ite and Sunnī traditions on the issue, aiming to date them back to the earliest possible date and, if possible, verify their authenticity. In order to achieve this, the traditions are examined using Harald Motzki’s *isnād-cum-matn* method. This method has been proven by Western academia to be an efficient tool in dating the early Islamic traditions and involves analysis of both *matn* (text) and *isnād* (chain of transmission) with an emphasis on finding a correlation between the two.

Upon examining the variants of the relevant traditions, the thesis concludes that with the aid of the traditions attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, the narrative on ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collection of the Qur’ān can be dated back to as early as the first decade of the second century. This is the earliest date to which the history of the text of the Qur’ān can be traced through analysing Muslim traditions. In addition, in the analysis of a tradition recorded in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, I find that the traditions concerning ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān were not only transmitted orally but also recorded in written form, within the first half of the second century. This is, again, the earliest date at which the collection of the Qur’ān in written format has been mentioned.

**IN SEARCH OF ‘ALĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB’S CODEX: STUDY OF THE
TRADITIONS ON THE EARLIEST COPY OF THE QUR’ĀN**

By Seyfeddin Kara

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2014

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STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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DEDICATION

To Massoud; for providing unconditional friendship and ceaseless support.

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Andrew Newman stresses the lack of interest in Shī'ite ḥadīth compilations in Western ḥadīth studies:

The reader of the best-known sources in the Western-language literature on ḥadīth to the date composed by those scholars who may be said to have established 'ḥadīth studies' as a separate discipline in the West, may be forgiven for knowing little, if anything, of the Twelver Shī' ī traditions, let alone of 'the four books' which together contain over 41,000 of the Imāms' statements: these scholars devoted scant attention to the Shī' ī traditions, restricting their discussion of the ḥadīth to the Sunnī materials.¹

Since then, by and large, there does not seem to be much indication that Western academia has changed its attitude towards Shī'ite ḥadīth compilations. In this regard the debate about the history of the text of the Qur'ān has been constructed around the Sunnī narrations, along with the study of some other peripheral evidences. The Sunnī traditions on the issue singled out mainly the first and third Muslim Caliphs, Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, as significant in the enterprise of the collection of the Qur'ān.

Little attention has been given to the related Shī'ite traditions on the subject, which claimed that the fourth caliph or first Shī'ite Imām, 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib, carried out the task before anyone else. Further, some Sunnī traditions echoed these claims, yet they have been overlooked and did not find their place in the on-going debate on the issue. Considering Shī'ites' longstanding opposition to the 'orthodox' version of Islam, their sources could potentially produce a different perspective on the issue and contribute additional evidence or arguments toward the debate.

¹ Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism* (Surrey: Curzon, 2000), xiii–xiv.

In order to fill this gap in the field of quranic studies as well as in *ḥadīth* studies, the present thesis will examine the traditions on ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collation of the Qur’ān. Taking into account the fact that these traditions were not only recorded in Shī’ite sources but that Sunnī sources contain traditions in a similar vein, the thesis will also delve into the relevant Sunnī traditions.

For the analysis of the traditions, the thesis will employ Harald Motzki’s *isnād-cum-matn* method. The method has proven to be an efficient tool in investigating early Islamic sources and has endured as a reliable method despite strong criticisms. The process entails gathering all the relevant traditions together with their variants on the subject in question and producing *isnād* maps. After that, a comparative study of variant *isnād* and *matn* clusters is undertaken with the aim of establishing a correlation between them. The correlation between *matn* (text) and *isnād* (chain of transmission) is crucial in the methodology as the existence of such a correlation can then confirm the reliability or source value of a tradition.

In this regard, the aim of our study, first, is to date these traditions to the earliest possible date, in order to find out at what point in time and place they were in circulation. Further, if possible, the method will reach a conclusion about the authenticity of these traditions. The method has previously only been employed on the Sunnī traditions, and this will be the first time it will be put to use on Shī’ite traditions, therefore the present thesis will also be important in terms of methodology as it will enable us to assess if the method can be applied to the Shī’ite traditions.

In Chapters One and Two, I will present the debate on the issue from the perspectives of both Western and Sunnī academia. In this regard, the main focus of Chapter One will be Western academia’s approach to the Muslim sources *vis-à-vis* the history of the text of the Qur’ān. I will first reflect upon the evolution of Western academia’s approach to the genesis of the Qur’ān, which initially suggested that Muḥammad had been deeply influenced by the Biblical teachings and relied upon these teachings in his quest to form a holy book. For scholars such as Abraham

Geiger, the primary evidence for this assertion was the existence of Judeo-Christian teaching in the Qur'ān.

In the mid 19th century, Aloys Sprenger challenged Western academia's tendency to accept the Qur'ān as the work of Muḥammad, and argued that later Muslim scholars through interpolations and omissions contributed to the formation of the Qur'ān. At the turn of the 20th century, Western academia's approach toward the history of the Qur'ān changed, and the text of the Qur'ān came under more careful scrutiny. William Muir took the lead to employ textual criticism on the text of the Qur'ān in order to reinforce the argument about the influence of the Jewish sources on the formation of the Qur'ān.

In the 20th century, the attention of Western academia shifted to the reliability of the Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus. First Ignác Goldziher and then Joseph Schacht launched fierce criticism about the authenticity of the Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus and claimed that traditions came into existence as a result of disputes between the Muslim political and legal factions. Although such an assertion was not directly linked to the history of the text of the Qur'ān, it led to assumptions that if Muslim traditions do not have any historical value, the traditions regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān must be disregarded.

It took several decades for Western scholars to muster their courage and systemise their theories in order to voice these theories convincingly. John Wansbrough formulated the theories in his two important works: *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretations*, published in 1977, and *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, published in 1978. The two books primarily argued that it was not Muḥammad who preached from the Qur'ān; rather the Qur'ān was derived by scholars from the teachings of the Prophet over a two hundred year period after the demise of the Prophet. In other words, the Qur'ān came into existence as a result of the collective work of the Muslim community, long after the Prophet. Wansbrough's conviction led him to assert that the events mentioned in the Qur'ān have no historicity, and as a result the quranic

text has no historical value and should not be treated as a historical text. Instead, as a religious text it has only literary value and should only be examined from the literary aspect.

At this point, the confidence in the historicity of the Muslim sources was shaken colossally and by and large, the value of Muslim sources rendered to literary devices. However drastic it may seem, this view became a dominant discourse in the Western academia for several decades, despite strong criticism from within Western academia itself. One may argue that this was mainly due to the fact that there was no alternative argument backed by a robust method to counter this approach.

Muslim scholars were the most troubled group in the face of such strong statements about the Qur'ān, and responded to the arguments of Wansbrough and his disciples, referred to as the Wansbrough school, mostly by providing religious arguments. In this regard, in Chapter Two I will take on the Muslim - or rather Sunnī - response to Western academia's approach. In order to avoid duplication I will present the traditional Muslim approach to the history of the text of the Qur'ān in this chapter as well, together with the Muslim response to Western criticism of the traditional Muslim discourse and methods.

In the chapter, I will first take on the traditional Muslim approach that tends to consider the matter a religious dispute between Islam, Christianity and Judaism, and takes a religious stance against Western academia's approach. Instead of addressing the criticisms, they mostly discuss the cynical intentions of Western academia and attempt to produce counter-arguments using some quranic verses and reasserting the authority of the Muslim traditions. Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami's work *The History of the Qur'ānic Text: From Revelation to Compilation; a Comparative Study with the Old and New Testaments* will receive considerable attention as it stands as the chief representative of the traditional Muslim approach to the debate.

Aside from the traditional approach to the debate, some Muslim scholars such as Fazlur Rahman came up with more systematic answers to the claims of Western

academia. Rahman pointed out several weaknesses in the arguments of the Wansbrough school which mostly derived from their selective approach the Muslim sources including the Qurʾān. Nevertheless, despite his ability to point out some weaknesses in the Wansbrough school's theories, Rahman's biggest handicap is that he could not come up with a systematic method to assess Muslim traditions, which would satisfy the standards of the academia.

In Chapter Two, I will also delve into other attempts of Muslim scholars that received some support from Western scholars. One of these was to focus on the historical implications of the quranic inscriptions on the Dome of Rock (or *Qubbat al-Sakhrā*), and present them as the much-needed historical data to defend the historicity of the Qurʾān. Further, I will delve into recent studies on the Ṣanʿāʾ 1 manuscript. In their ground-breaking study, Behnam Sadeghi and Mohsen Goudarzi published edited folios of Ṣanʿāʾ 1 manuscript, which provided considerable evidence for the early history of the text of the Qurʾān.

In Chapter Three, I will first introduce the mainstream Shīʿite view regarding the history of the Qurʾān and provide a brief comparison of the approaches of the Shīʿite and Sunnī schools of thought on the issue. In this regard, Muḥammad Hādī Maʿrifat's ten volume work, entitled *al-Tamhīd fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān* will be the main reference for understanding the Shīʿite approach to the issue, as the work is arguably the most comprehensive Shīʿite book on the science of the Qurʾān. I will note that Shīʿite arguments mostly accept the Sunnī traditions on the issue despite the Shīʿite claim that it was the first Shīʿite Imām, ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib who collected the Qurʾān right after the demise of the Prophet. This copy was allegedly refused by the Muslim community at the time and consequently remained only accessible to the descendants of ʿAlī.

In Chapter Four, I will outline the methodology by which the traditions that are thought to be from between the second and the sixth centuries A.H. will be examined. The thesis has adopted the use of the *isnād-cum-matn* method and I will argue that due to its holistic and systematic approach, this method fills an important

methodological gap in examining the early Muslim traditions. In short, analysis of the traditions will consist of five stages:

1. All the variants of *aḥādīth* (traditions) on the subject will be gathered together, 2. *Isnād* (chain of transmission) variations in the *aḥādīth* that are being treated will be presented in the form of diagrams so that the transmission process is documented, including the identities of common links and partial common links, 3. Then, through a *matn* (text) analysis it will be examined whether the identified common links were the real collectors or the professional disseminators of the tradition. This stage also involves gathering the texts belonging to the different transmission lines in order to carry out a synoptic comparison, 4. In order to establish if there is a correlation, the gathered *matn* and *isnād* variants will be compared, 5. Finally, if the correlation is established, the analysis process will then be able to conclude that the original *matn* was transmitted by the common link.

In the remaining chapters (Chapter Five, Chapter Six, Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight) in accordance with the requirements of the method, I will gather all the variants relevant to the collection of the Qur'ān. The variants will then be grouped into four categories, according to whom they are attributed to, namely Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Ibn Sīrīn. Each cluster will be examined in separate chapters and in the end the outcomes of the study of the different clusters will be examined together.

My research, in total has located 31 traditions on the issue. Shī'ite traditions were recorded in al-Ṣaffār's *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī's *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, and Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. Sunnī traditions were recorded in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*, Muḥammad b. Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Ibn abī Dāwūd's *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, Aḥmad b. Fāris's *al-Ṣāhib fī al-Fiqh*, al-Ḥaskānī's *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, al-Khawārizmī's *al-Manāqib*, Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī's *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb*.

Upon examining all these traditions we will attempt to date them and, if possible, assess their reliability. The implications of the outcome of the study will then be placed in the general framework of the debate on the collection of the Qur'ān.

CHAPTER ONE

WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE QUR'ĀN: A SHORT HISTORY OF QURANIC STUDIES IN THE WEST

Discovering the biblical roots of the Qur'ān

Western scholarship has shown interest in the Qur'ān from the early period of Islam. The initial works served mostly religious purposes as they were produced to defend Christianity and Judaism against the emerging religion.² More serious studies on the subject that approached the study of the Qur'ān through a historical-critical method began to arise in the 19th century, and have continued to gain momentum since then. The initial studies mostly paid attention to the similarities between Islam and the Judeo-Christian heritage. They held the assumption that Islam was a sect, which was derived from Judeo-Christian heritage.

In order to verify this assumption, they relied extensively upon the method of examining 'historical data' that is thought to point out the strong presence of Judaism and Christianity in the region and their influence on Muḥammad in establishing the nascent religion. The second methodology that they used was literary analysis of the Qur'ān. Western scholarship of the time analysed these words comparatively with Biblical sources to strengthen their argument that Old and New Testaments deeply influenced the Qur'ān.. During their studies they did not hesitate to use Islamic sources, and did not employ drastically different methodologies than those used in Muslim scholarship.

Abraham Geiger, a German rabbi and scholar who founded Reform Judaism, carried out one of the first historical-critical approaches to Qur'ān. His work entitled *Was hat*

²A comprehensive study of the religious approach to Islamic history can be found in *Robert G. Hoyland, Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Darwin Pr, 1998). Also see *Writings, by St John of Damascus, The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 37 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1958)

Mohammed aus dem Judentume aufgenommen (Judaism and Islam) published in 1833, was based on the 'assumption that Muḥammad borrowed from Judaism',³ in his quest to establish a new religion. Geiger's work is very comprehensive as he scrutinised the quranic verses comparatively with the Judaic sources to point out the 'influence' of the Hebrew Scriptures on the Qur'ān. He also elaborated upon the presence of the Jewish tribes in Madina in order to make the connection. The strong presence of various Jewish tribes in Madina is crucial for Geiger's thesis and enabled him to argue that Muḥammad interacted with these Jewish tribes at different levels, and as a result, Jewish teachings influenced him. He further speculated that Muḥammad would learn them through word of mouth only.⁴

Jewish traditions and history had reached in the mouth of the people, as certain to appeal powerfully to the poetic genius of the prophet and so we cannot doubt that in so far as he had the means to borrow from Judaism, and so long as the Jewish views were not in direct opposition to his own, Muḥammad was anxious to incorporate much borrowed from Judaism into his Quran.⁵

Additionally, Geiger drew attention to the influence of two Jewish figures who played a crucial role in Muḥammad's 'formation of the new religion': 'Abdallāh b. Salam, and Waraqa, the cousin of Khadijah were the two chief mentors of Muḥammad who helped him to get acquainted with the Jewish sources as both of them were Jews at certain points in their lives.⁶

During the course of his work Geiger found out that there are many similar concepts in the Qur'ān and Jewish sources. For him these similarities strongly suggest that Muḥammad made use of the Jewish concepts while he was preaching the nascent

³ Abraham Geiger, *Judaism and Islam*, trans. F.M. Young, 1896, xxx,

⁴ Geiger rules out the possibility of Muḥammad's personal acquaintance with Jewish Scriptures; his opinion is based on examination of relevant verses of the Qur'ān which convince him that the early Muslims' knowledge about Jews only come from their conversations with Jews. (Abraham Geiger. *Judaism and Islam*. Translated by F.M. Young, 1896.p.18)

⁵ Abraham Geiger, *Judaism and Islam*, 17.

⁶ Ibid., 18 .

religion. There was no Arabic equivalent of these concepts, thus they were expressed in their original language, Rabbinical Hebrew. In this regard, Geiger pays particular attention to the words that have passed from Rabbinical Hebrew into the Qur'ān, and then into the Arabic language.⁷ Geiger's work was pioneering in its methodology and conclusion, and hence influenced many later scholars. Especially his methodology of studying the linguistic aspects of the Qur'ān to discover 'influence' of Judaic sources, inspired many later scholars working in the field of quranic studies.

Gustav Weil's *Historisch –kristische Einleitung in den Koran (The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud; or, Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans)* published in 1844 was another important work that studied the Qur'ān from a historical perspective. In his book Weil studied stories of the Prophets in the Qur'ān and compared them with Biblical stories in order to make his point that Muḥammad took these stories from biblical sources and employed them in the Qur'ān.

Similar to Geiger, Weil believed that Muḥammad learned Jewish teachings from the existing Jewish tribes through word of mouth and with the help of some figures like Waraqa, 'Abdallāh b. Salam, Salmān al-Fārisī who spent considerable time within the Jews and Christians before becoming a Muslim, and Baḥīra Muḥammad met on his way to 'Buzra' (according to Weil he was a baptized Jew), incorporated them into Islamic teachings.⁸ However, the work barely mentions the Qur'ān, instead mostly referring to legends taken from biblical sources into the Muslim works by some Muslim scholars, which are commonly called *isrā'īliyyāt*.⁹ Therefore, the work largely remains unsophisticated in comparison to Geiger's work.

William St Clair Tisdall, on the other hand, in *The Sources of Islam*, published in 1902, maintained that ancient Arabs' customs and beliefs also played a crucial role in

⁷ Ibid., 31 .

⁸ Gustav Weil, *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud; Or, Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*. (New York: Harper & brothers, 1855), viii–xi.

⁹ Gustav Weil, *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud; Or, Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*.

the formation of the Qur'ān.¹⁰ Nevertheless, he argued that Judaism was the main element that influenced Islam through people like Waraqa, 'Ubaydallāh and some Jewish friends of Muḥammad through whom he gained access to the Jewish sources and employed them in the formation process of the Qur'ān.¹¹

He seems to be the first person to mention the referential style of the Qur'ān, which later played a crucial role in Wansbrough's controversial theory regarding the formation of the Qur'ān. What Tisdall means by referential style is that in order to understand certain verses of the Qur'ān one needs to have knowledge about the Old Testament. For Tisdall the Qur'ān assumes the reader to have this knowledge and the verses progress accordingly. In order to prove it, Tisdall examines a number of events in the Qur'ān that he believes had been copied from the Old Testament.¹²

However, Tisdall notices that although there are similarities between the Qur'ān and the Jewish scriptures, there are also noticeable differences in some stories, which prompted Tisdall to conclude that Muḥammad's knowledge of the Bible was imperfect. But if the Bible inspired Muḥammad, how did these differences come about? Tisdall's answer to this question is clear: At the time of Muḥammad, a number of Christians who belonged to unorthodox sects were present in Arabia. Muḥammad's knowledge about the Bible came from the followers of these sects who did not have proper knowledge of the Bible and thus taught Muḥammad from their unorthodox sources. This is why the Qur'ān narrates some of the Biblical stories differently.¹³

Tisdall further argues that other cultures that existed in the region, such as Zoroastrianism and Hinduism also influenced the Qur'ān in the same way that Judaism and Christianity influenced the Qur'ān.¹⁴ Muḥammad's Companions, such as

¹⁰ William St Clair Tisdall, *The Sources of Islam*, trans. Sir William Muir (USA: CSPI, LLC, 1902), 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

Salmān al-Fārisī, informed Muḥammad about Persian tales and Muḥammad introduced them into the Qurʾān.¹⁵

Hartwig Hirschfeld, whose important work entitled *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran*, published in 1902, believe in the strong Jewish influence in Medina and its surroundings, which led many Arab families to convert to Judaism as well as freely intermarry with Jews at the turn of the seventh century. However, there were no Jews in Mecca and a very few Christians inhabited in the city.¹⁶

Thus, Hirschfeld believes in inevitable strong Biblical influence on Muḥammad.¹⁷ This influence did not only come from Jews and Christians of Mecca and Madina; it also come from the Dead Sea that Muḥammad passed by when he was leading Khadījā's caravans to Syria.¹⁸ However, Hirschfeld continues:

This, of course, did not consist of systematic study nor regular instructions from laws, morals, and parables, and supported by occasional notes gleaned by stealth and learned in seclusion. Clothed, then, in Arabic speech, adapted to the views, customs, and wants of the country the original of the revelations are frequently hidden beyond recognition. This autodidactical method of studying accounts for nearly all the peculiarities of the Qurʾān. It influenced Muḥammad's ideas and affected his style.¹⁹

Hirschfeld, disagrees with Sprenger regarding the role of Baḥīrā as the secret tutor of Muḥammad and the author of the *ṣuḥuf* (loose pages). He simply believes that *ṣuḥuf* did not exist in reality but only in the imagination of Muḥammad. Rather, Muḥammad used the term to describe Pentateuch.²⁰ He considers 'the story of

¹⁵ Ibid., 61.

¹⁶ Hartwig Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902), 3.

¹⁷ Ibid., 13.

¹⁸ Ibid., 28.

¹⁹ Ibid., 13.

²⁰ Ibid., 22.

Baḥīrā' along with 'the legends of [chapter] *iqra'* and 'the cleansing of the heart' as proof of the influence of the Bible on the Qur'ān. This is because the stories are very similar to Biblical ones.²¹ Hence, similar to the *ṣuḥuf*, Baḥīrā' was also a legend.²² Hirschfeld, throughout his work points out the similarities between quranic concepts such as 'human soul',²³ 'resurrection',²⁴ 'miracle'²⁵ etc. and biblical concepts, and then illustrates how quranic verses are similar to the biblical verses.

Further, Alfred Guillaume, in his work entitled *The Legacy of Israel*, published in 1927, also believes that Islam made use of Judaic sources; the author elaborates that this might seem to be complicated to understand, but in reality, it is not. Complication arises due to 'an intermediate legatee' role of Christianity and once it is acknowledged that the source of Christianity is Judaism, the complexity is removed.²⁶ It is obvious that Guillaume has similar feelings for Christianity in relation to Islam, and does not consider it an authentic religion.

In order to prove his argument, he starts by elaborating upon the existence of the Jewish diaspora in the Arabian Peninsula from the early periods. From the times of Solomon there had been a Jewish presence in the peninsula due to commercial relations and by the Seventh Century, Jews appeared to be well established in the various cities including cities like Khaybar, Madina and al-Ṭā'if.²⁷ He believed that it was Muḥammad who authored the Qur'ān by making use of the Jewish sources obtained from people who were not of Jewish descent but ignorant Arabs who had recently converted to Judaism. This is the reason why the stories mentioned in the Qur'ān in relation to Judaism differ from those in the Old Testament. In his

²¹ Ibid., 23.

²² Ibid., 25.

²³ Ibid., 41.

²⁴ Ibid., 43.

²⁵ Ibid., 44.

²⁶ Alfred Guillaume, "The Legacy of Israel," in *Clarendon Press*, ed. Edwyn R. Bevan and Charles Singer (Oxford, 1927), 129.

²⁷ Ibid., 132–133.

examination of certain verses he comes to the conclusion that the quranic verses are inaccurate copies of the biblical stories.²⁸

Guillaume also mentions the 'referential style' of the Qur'ān as certain parts of it are unintelligible without referring back to the Old Testament.²⁹ He then illustrates what he means through a comparative study of the narrations of the same stories in the Old Testament and the Qur'ān, which convinces him that Muḥammad was an unsuccessful 'interpreter of Judaism'.³⁰ His views are very similar to those of Tisdall;³¹ however, he ignores Tisdall in his book.

Geiger's influence on the Western scholarship continued with Henri Lammens who published *L'Islam (Islam: Beliefs and Institutions)* in 1928. Lammens also believed in the Jewish influence on the formation of the Qur'ān during the Madina period³² as well as the strong influence of the literature of apocryphal gospels.³³ Similar to his predecessors, Lammens accepted that the Qur'ān was an authentic book and personal work of Muḥammad, collected during the reign of Caliph 'Uthmān.³⁴

Arthur Jeffrey's book *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, published in 1938, was a result of a laborious work that examined 318 non-Arabic words mentioned in the Qur'ān and traced them back to their 'original roots'. The study was in line with the previous works in the field and brought him to the conclusion that the Qur'ān was not only influenced by Judaic sources but also by the Christian sources; during the time of Muḥammad members of the two religions were strongly visible in the Arabian Peninsula:

²⁸ Ibid., 134.

²⁹ Ibid., 39.

³⁰ Ibid., 147.

³¹ Tisdall, *The Sources of Islam*.

³² Henri Lammens, *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, trans. Sir E. Denison Ross (Great Britain: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1929), 48.

³³ Ibid., 50.

³⁴ Ibid., 38.

[Muḥammad] was greatly impressed by this higher civilization and particularly by the religion of the great Empire of Roum, and there can be no serious doubt that his conception of his mission, as he first clearly outlined it for himself, was to provide for the Arabs the benefit of this religion and in sonic measure this civilization. It was therefore natural that the Qurʾān should contain a large number of religious and cultural terms borrowed from these surrounding communities.³⁵

Although there were minor differences in the conclusions of these scholars, they all have agreed on the official Islamic view in terms of the collection of the Qurʾān and did not question the authenticity of the Qurʾān as the word of Muḥammad. Their common ground was that the Qurʾān was deeply influenced by the biblical sources in its formation period.

Theodor Nöldeke's work entitled *Mohammedanism III. The Koran* (republished under the title of *The Quran: An Introductory Essay* in 1992³⁶) published in 1892 can also be included this group of scholars. In his linguistic analysis of the Qurʾān, Nöldeke criticised the content of the Qurʾān³⁷ and pointed out 'errors' in it³⁸ as well as highlighting the abrupt changes. Based on this analysis he simply considered the Qurʾān a bad copy of the Bible.³⁹ He pointed out the use of Jewish and Christian words in the Qurʾān as proof of their influence on the Qurʾān.⁴⁰

In terms of Nöldeke's view on the collection of the Qurʾān, he believed in the later alteration of the text after the Prophet. Nöldeke concurred with the official Muslim story about the collection of the Qurʾān that 'Umar urged Abū Bakr and Abū Bakr commissioned Zayd b. Thābit for the collection of the Qurʾān. Finally, at the time of 'Uthmān, an official copy was produced again under the supervision of Zayd b.

³⁵ Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān* (Baroda, India: Oriental Institute, 1938), 30,

³⁶ Theodor Nöldeke, *The Quran: An Introductory Essay*, ed. N. A. Newman, Reprinted in 1992 (USA: Interdisciplinary Biblical Research Institute, 1891).

³⁷ Ibid., 8.

³⁸ Ibid., 10–12.

³⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 14.

Thābit.⁴¹ But his language is harsh and blames Muḥammad for his lack of vision for not initiating the compilation of the Qurʾān during his life-time:

When Muḥammad died, the separate pieces of the Qurʾān, notwithstanding their theoretical sacredness, existed only in scattered copies; they were consequently in great danger to being partially or entirely destroyed. Many Muslims knew large portions by heart, but certainly no one knew the whole; and a merely oral propagation would have left the door open to all kinds of deliberate and inadvertent alterations. Muḥammad himself had never thought of an authentic collection of his revelations; he was usually concerned only with the object of the moment and the idea that the revelations would be destroyed unless he made provision for their safe preservations, did not enter his mind.⁴²

The idea that the Qurʾān was not collected at the time of the Prophet enabled Nöldeke to believe that Muḥammad acted alone in his mission, without any support from his people, if there was a mission at all. Nöldeke's paper is definitely apologetic as he tries to defend Christianity and Judaism against Islam.⁴³ He is very biased against the Prophet and he is not reluctant to show it in the work, going as far as to insult him on many occasions.⁴⁴

In his influential work *The Life of Muhammad: From Original Sources*, published in 1923, William Muir also accepted the official Muslim story on the collection of the Qurʾān: Although the Qurʾān was not collected at the time of the Prophet, unorganised fragments written on different materials were held under safekeeping by the scribes and wives of the Prophet. Later these fragments were collected at the time of Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān and distributed in the Peninsula mainly due to the deaths of many memorisers (*qurra*) of the Qurʾān in the Battle of Yamāma.⁴⁵ He also

⁴¹ Ibid., 23–24.

⁴² Ibid., 22.

⁴³ Ibid., 29–31.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 5–7.

⁴⁵ Sir William Muir, *The Corān: Its Composition And Teaching; And The Testimony It Bears To The Holy Scriptures*. (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1878), 37–39, Sir William

believes that the Qur'ān in its present form 'contains the very words delivered by the Prophet.'⁴⁶

Muir, however, undertakes a textual criticism of the Qur'ān. He is the first Western scholar to point out 'inconsistency and contradiction'⁴⁷ in the text and the problems with the chronological orders of the chapters of the Qur'ān. He seems to be seriously bothered by the order of the chapters, and tries to solve the issue by making use of certain parameters:

First, the style: wild and rhapsodical in the early period, prosaic and narrative in the second, official and authoritative in the last. Then there is the development of doctrine and precept; the bearing of the argument, whether addressed to the idolater of Mecca, to the Jew or Christian, or to the disaffected citizen of Medina; to the believer oppressed and persecuted, or to the same believer militant and triumphant. And, lastly, there are distinct references to historical landmarks, which, within certain limits, fix the period of composition.⁴⁸

He also mentions some chapters that fit partially into a certain period and partially fit into another period, which needed to be rearranged. Muir then on the basis of his criteria rearranges the order of the Qur'ān into six different periods:

- 1- The early period
- 2- The opening of Muḥammad's ministry.
- 3- From the commencement of Muḥammad's public ministry, to the Abyssinian emigration.
- 4- From the sixth to the tenth year of Muḥammad's ministry.

Muir, *The Life of Muḥammad: From Original Sources*, 1923rd ed. (Edinburg: John Grant, 1861), xx–xxii.

⁴⁶ Sir William Muir, *The Corān: Its Composition And Teaching; And The Testimony It Bears To The Holy Scriptures.*, 40; Muir, *The Life of Muḥammad: From Original Sources*, xix.

⁴⁷ Sir William Muir, *The Corān: Its Composition And Teaching; And The Testimony It Bears To The Holy Scriptures.*, 41.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 42.

5- From the tenth year of Muḥammad's ministry (the period of the removal of the ban) to the flight from Mecca.

6- The last period (*Sūra* revealed at Medina.)⁴⁹

Muir's work was certainly influenced by Weil's; however instead of only examining the stories of the prophets, he, mostly with the help of secondary sources, examines the Qur'ān textually and tries to establish a connection between the Bible and the Qur'ān. His motivation is not concealed throughout the book; similar to some of his colleagues with a missionary objective at hand, Muir wants to prove that the Qur'ān is not an original text. It is rather an imitation of the Jewish Scriptures which was initially, during the Mecca period, aimed at teaching Judaism to Arabs in their own language as the Qur'ān was thought to be a confirmation of Judaism. However, Muḥammad later deviated from this path and claimed that the Qur'ān supersedes the previous Books, and is the final word of God.⁵⁰

He scrutinises the verses of the Qur'ān that refer to the Jewish scriptures in order to prove his point. His extensive study of these verses is perhaps the unripe stage of what Wansbrough later would later call the 'referential style'⁵¹ of the Qur'ān. Wansbrough later took and developed it into one of the core evidences of his thesis and came to his drastically different conclusions about the history of the text of the Qur'ān.

It should be noted that scholars like Angelika Neuwirth took a different approach to the study of the text of the Qur'ān and argued that textual analysis of the Qur'ān might provide information regarding its history . In one of her most recent works she points out the relationship between the text and community in the case of the Qur'ān: 'The first distinctive characteristic of the Qur'ān is that it is not an authorial work compiled to edify random readers. It is in a unique way the property – or at

⁴⁹ Ibid., 42–44.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 86.

⁵¹ J. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford University Press, 1977).

least the “heritage” – of a community.⁵² She states that this strong relationship demands a ‘contextual’ reading of the text of the Qur’ān ‘as the transcript of the emergence of a community that gradually develops a religious identity of its own’.⁵³ Yet, she continues, this contextual reading of the text is missing from the quranic scholarship.

She further states that if such a reading is carried out effectively it might lead us to tangible conclusions regarding the formation period of the text of the Qur’ān. In this regard, she embarks on a sample study of Muḥammad and Moses in the quranic verses by comparing them to the biblical traditions. Her aim is to establish whether the verses of the Qur’ān concur with the events that took place during the advent of Islam. She notes that during the Middle Meccan period there are unmistakable indications in the relevant verses that the Muslim community wanted to divorce itself from the Meccan idolatry culture and ‘relocate itself in an imagined space, the Holy Land, the landscape of biblical salvation history dominated by the towering figure of Moses.’⁵⁴ For her this is the very reason why the Meccan chapters are replete with retelling of the Biblical stories, and pointing the direction of *qibla* is a clear manifestation of this inclination among the Muslim community.

Further, again as a result of this tendency there is a strong emphasis on Moses as the central figure in the Meccan chapters, but then as a result of the Muslim community’s desire to emerge as an independent community in Madina, the emphasis shifted to Muḥammad instead. As Neuwirth puts it: ‘Moses will be highlighted as the central figure in the process of the community’s shift from a pious religious reform movement to a self-reliant religious community with a strong

⁵² Angelika Neuwirth, “Qur’anic Studies and Historical-Critical Philology: The Qur’an’s Staging, Penetrating, and Eclipsing of Biblical Tradition” (presented at the International Qur’anic Studies Association Conference San Diego, California: International Qur’anic Studies Association, 2014), 1, https://iqsaweb.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/sandiego_keynote_an.pdf.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 8.

political identity of its own.⁵⁵

The comparison of the Qur'ān and the biblical stories further strengthens this view. Chapter Ṭaha contains both Meccan and Madinan verses about Moses, and is thus a logical choice for comparison. The conclusion of the textual study reveals that Meccan stories in the chapter about Moses are similar to Biblical traditions in the sense that they depict Moses as a 'role model' but in the Madinan verses his role is relatively diminished and Muḥammad takes over.⁵⁶ The conclusion of the textual study reveals that Meccan stories about Moses are similar to biblical traditions; hence she argues that the authenticity of Muslim traditions that narrate the life of the Prophet can be established. Neuwirth's reading of the Qur'ān provides a detailed comparative textual analysis but her argument may be deemed circular as without making any effort to establish the historicity of the traditions the method requires a prior acceptance of the authenticity of Islamic traditions.

Neuwirth is aware of this but she is confident that there must be some truth in Muslim accounts: This kind of reading of the Qur'ān is based on the conviction that 'the narrative of quranic origins transmitted in Islamic tradition is – at least in its basic data – historically trustworthy.' If there is any objection, she continues, the accuser should provide the evidence for it: 'To dismiss it would require falsifying proofs.'⁵⁷ Despite this ostensible leap in her argument, she demonstrates that a different approach to textual analysis of the Qur'ān might provide different conclusions.

Challenging the Muslim narrations

It seems that Sprenger was the first scholar to challenge the official Islamic view regarding the formation of the Qur'ān. In his work *The Life of Mohammad, from*

⁵⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Original Sources, published in 1851, Sprenger introduces the idea of the contribution of the later scholars in the formation of the Qur'ān. A 'mythology', he avers, was developed around Muḥammad during the two hundred year after his demise. Further, during this period

The apostles of the faith were anxious to satisfy their disciples on these and similar points: for how should a proud Arab allow that his prophet should be inferior to any other? Moreover, gross notions of a rude age were to be covered and mystified, and questions, on which Muḥammad had laid but little weight, were to be developed. To supply what seemed to be wanting, pious fraud assisted imagination, by furnishing arguments for its creations. Well calculated fictions were believed in the age of faith; and many of them became dogmas for succeeding centuries.⁵⁸

What Sprenger meant was that possible alterations and interpolations were later added by Muslim scholars to the original Qur'ān in order to elevate the status of Muḥammad in the eyes of his later followers. Yet, he does not doubt the authenticity of the Qur'ān as a work of Muḥammad, withstanding the possibility of interpolations by later Muslim scholars.⁵⁹

Sprenger investigates the early Islamic sources and assesses their authenticity in order to verify his argument. He suggests that Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/768) might be the father of the 'mythology of Islam' as he was the one who wrote the first biography of the Prophet on the request of Caliph al-Manṣūr.⁶⁰ As Ibn Ishāq's main aim was to 'edify and amuse' his audience, he was not critical in collecting the traditions. He further invented traditions and forged authorities to achieve his objective; hence the early authors did not trust him.⁶¹ Having said that, Sprenger does not produce any evidence to prove his allegation that it was Ibn Ishāq who fabricated these traditions.

⁵⁸ Aloys Sprenger, *The Life of Muhammad, from Original Sources* (Oxford: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1851), 47–48.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 63.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 69.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Sprenger then goes on to discuss work of Ibn Hishām (d. 212/828) who wrote another biography of Muḥammad; however his copy was less critical than that of Ibn Ishāq. Yet, this was the first original work that had been used previously by the European scholarship.⁶²

Another early biographer of Muḥammad was Abū Ishāq, who according to Sprenger was more honest than Ibn Hishām and Ibn Ishāq but made big errors in his recording of the narrations. No existing work of Abū Ishāq has remained, but his works have been constantly quoted in the histories of Abū Hātim b. Ḥibbān (d. 354/965) and occasionally by al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822).⁶³

Towards the end of the Second Century al-Wāqidī, who was considered to be an ‘Alawī, collected a number of books that had reference to the biographies of Muḥammad and his disciples. These works were later compiled into a giant collection by his secretary Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Zuhayrī (d. 230/844) and given the title of *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, but now known as *Ṭabaqāt al-Wāqidī*. According to Spengler, this work is the most reliable biography of Muḥammad. Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/929) are also important scholars who collected traditions on the biography of Muḥammad. Al-Tirmidhī’s work is reliable; however some parts of al-Ṭabarī’s work are only available in Persian translation and thus not very reliable.⁶⁴

Aside from coming up with the idea of interpolations and alteration in the Qur’ān by the later scholars, Sprenger concurs with other scholars of his time regarding the influence of biblical sources on the Qur’ān. References to biblical stories mentioned in the Qur’ān convince Sprenger to believe that Muḥammad was influenced by the biblical sources in the formation period of the Qur’ān. He then tries to find the

⁶² Ibid., 70.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 71–72.

source of the biblical teachings in the Qur'ān and comes up with the argument that some of the disciples of the Prophet taught him the Bible.⁶⁵ In this regard, he believes that it was Zayd b. Thābit, who was believed to be a Jew before becoming a Muslim, who influenced the Prophet and taught him the biblical history.⁶⁶

Michael Lecker, a more recent scholar in the field examined traditions about Zayd b. Thābit to trace his Jewish origin. According to Muslim sources 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd who had his own copy of the Qur'ān and was outraged with the works of Zayd b. Thābit, 'disparagingly' mentioned Zayd b. Thābit as a former Jew.⁶⁷ The author cannot verify if Ibn Mas'ūd invented this insult for Zayd b. Thābit but he has evidence on the influence of Jews on Zayd b. Thābit during his early childhood. After his father was killed in the Battle of Bu'āth, he was educated by the Jews and learned Arabic from a member of a Jewish group called the Banū Masika which lived in the lower part of Medina. Lecker has no evidence that Zayd might have been a Jew but assumes it might have been the case.⁶⁸ He believes Zayd's ability to speak Aramaic, Syriac or Hebrew further strengthens his hypothesis that he was a Jew before becoming a Muslim.

There are two traditions that might be taken as a suggestion that Zayd, who was eleven years old when the Prophet moved to Madina, could have been a Jew. 'Ubay b. Ka'b and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd were bitter about 'Uthmān's selection of Zayd b. Thābit for the task of collecting the Qur'ān. In this regard 'Ubay b. Ka'b commented about Zayd: 'I read the Qur'ān while this Zayd was still a boy with two locks of hair playing among the Jewish children in the literacy (or Torah) school (*maktab*).⁶⁹

And Ibn Mas'ūd commented in the same manner:

⁶⁵ Ibid., 97.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 95.

⁶⁷ Michael Lecker, "Zayd b. Thābit, 'A Jew with Two Sidelocks': Judaism and Literacy in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56, no. 4 (October 1997): 259.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Idem., 259.

... It was said [i.e., teasingly] to ‘Abdallāh [b. Masjid]: "Would you not read [the Qur’ān] according to the reading of Zayd?" He said: "What business do I have with Zayd and the reading of Zayd? I took from the mouth of the Messenger of God seventy sūras, when Zayd b. Thābit was still a Jew with two locks of hair" (*dhu'dbatanī*) [i.e., sidelocks].⁷⁰

There is a possibility that Zayd was a Jew before becoming a Muslim; however, since there is no strong evidence to prove this, it is also possible that as a bright young man he could have been asked by the Prophet to learn the other languages spoken in the region, and the best way for Zayd to learn the languages was to study in their schools for some time. This would inevitably lead some conservative members of the community to show a harsh reaction as such behaviour was not acceptable to them. Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reaction to Zayd could also be explained from this perspective. Waraqa was another figure according to Sprenger who had helped the Prophet to put together the Qur’ān before his death.⁷¹ He also brings about the name of a previously unknown figure; Addās, a monk of Nīniva who lived in Mecca, and allegedly taught Muḥammad about biblical stories. In addition, Rabbis of Hijāz taught him their legends.⁷²

Sprenger also disagrees with the official Islamic view that the Prophet was an illiterate man. He argues that the Prophet was not illiterate but pretended to be illiterate, as he wanted to enhance his divine position by giving the impression that the Qur’ān is a miracle.⁷³ By arguing that, he further strengthens his position that Muḥammad studied the biblical sources and made use of them. He further argued that some of the most prominent Companions of the Prophet, such as his step-son Zayd and a former slave Bilāl, were ex-Christians and also taught the Prophet about the biblical scriptures.⁷⁴ Yet again, his arguments remain hypotheses, as he provides no concrete evidence to back them up.

⁷⁰ Idem., 259.

⁷¹ Sprenger, *The Life of Muhammad, from Original Sources*, 98.

⁷² Ibid., 99.

⁷³ Ibid., 102.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 161–162.

Leone Caetani was another important figure whose writings influenced the later western scholarships a great deal, especially relating to the implementation of the historical-critical method on the Islamic sources. His most important work on Islam, *Annali dell'Islam*, was published as ten volumes in 1905. It was the result of extensive research and travel to Islamic countries. An article entitled ‘‘Uthmān and the Recension of the Koran’ was translated and published in *The Muslim World* (October 1915) to make available in the English language Caetani’s ground-breaking conclusions on the collection of the Qur’ān. His ideas drastically differed from the earlier scholars’ ideas as the paper argued that the Qur’ān that exists in the present day is not the very word of Muḥammad.

He does not believe in the narration about the Battle of Yamāma which was stated as the main reason in the Islamic sources for the compilation of an official copy of the Qur’ān and existence of Ḥaḥṣa’s copy⁷⁵ which was used by ‘Uthmān in the process of compiling the official text. Contemplating upon the traditions, he argues that Abū Bakr and ‘Umar initiated the collection of the Qur’ān in Madina and this took place independently from the Battle of Yamāma. Besides, this was not the official recension, but instead a local text similar to some other texts which existed in different provinces at the time. There had been various copies of the Qur’ān compiled in the provinces, which were likely to include unauthenticated and unwarranted verses. This uncertainty gave rise to ‘Uthmān’s enterprise to compile an official version of the Qur’ān during his reign.⁷⁶

As for ‘Uthmān’s recension, Caetani argues that it was motivated by political reasons rather than religious concerns. ‘Uthmān’s main aim for creating an official copy of the Qur’ān for Caetani was to curb the power of an elite class called *qurra* (memorisers of the Qur’ān) who were privileged in the nascent Muslim community

⁷⁵ Leone Caetani., ‘‘Uthman and the Recension of the Koran,’’ *The Muslim World* 5, no. 4 (October 1915): 380–381.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 381–382.

due to their knowledge of the Qur'ān and wanted to turn this privilege into political gains. 'Uthmān ordered a single official copy of the Qur'ān and destruction of all the other copies, and was thus involved in a decisive battle between the central state and its rivals.⁷⁷ The same argument was also put forward later on by D. S. Margoliouth without reference to Caetani. He averred that since the Prophet did not leave an official copy of the Qur'ān behind, possessors of the fragments that contained parts of the Qur'ān gained significant status and influence in the community; thus it was a political necessity for the third Caliph to challenge the authority of this group and burn all the unofficial fragments.⁷⁸

Further, Caetani deals with the authenticity of 'Uthmān's official collection as he suspects some of the verses might have been omitted during the compilation process. In the Muslim traditions regarding the collection of the Qur'ān, it was said that every verse needed to be verified by two witnesses to be included in the Qur'ān. Caetani argues that some verses of the Qur'ān could have been suppressed if they failed to fulfil the criteria.⁷⁹ Hence, Caetani takes Sprenger's thesis further and comes up with strong criticisms and forceful arguments against the Muslim narrations on the collection of the Qur'ān.

However, to me he does not provide compelling evidence regarding the conflict between the *qurra* and the central government. There were indeed political disputes at the time, which eventually led to the assassination of 'Uthmān; however these conflicts were mostly between different tribes and families. There was no sign of any conflict between the *qurra* and 'Uthmān; in fact those who fought against 'Uthmān had the least knowledge about the Qur'ān. Hence Caetani's argument remains an unsubstantiated theory.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 387–389.

⁷⁸ D. S. Margoliouth, "Textual Variations of the Koran," *The Muslim World* 15, no. 4 (1925): 336, doi:10.1111/j.1478-1913.1925.tb00584.x.

⁷⁹ Caetani., "'Uthman and the Recension of the Koran," 381.

Richard Bell, another prominent scholar in the field is also critical about the traditions that narrate the event of the collection of the Qur'ān as he points out the discrepancies between the different variations of the traditions regarding the initiator of the idea of the collection of the Qur'ān. The different variations of the tradition mention the names of the first three caliphs who initiated the collection of the Qur'ān.⁸⁰ Further, Bell challenges the reasoning of these traditions: He notices that in the Muslim traditions the most important reason given for the collection of the Qur'ān seems to be the death of a large number of *qurra* in the Battle of Yamāma.

However this is not a very convincing story for number of reasons: First, very few of the people who were killed in the battle were *qurra* (according to Schwally, only two of them), they were mostly recent converts to Islam and were not expected to have extensive knowledge of the Qur'ān. Second, according to the traditions a significant portion of the Qur'ān had already been written down on various forms of material; as a result, the death of some of the memorisers of the Qur'ān should not have alerted Muslim leadership that the Qur'ān would be lost. Third, the allegedly official copy did not have authority to the extent that one could have expected. Other copies of the Qur'ān, collected by individual Companions, seemed to be regarded as authoritative as the official copy in the different provinces.

Finally, for Bell, the involvement of Ḥafṣa in the story is very suspicious. According to the traditions, Zayd had earlier written the Qur'ān on *ṣuḥuf* and this had been kept by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's daughter Ḥafṣa, who was a widow of the Prophet. Bell rightly assumes that Zayd should have finished the work by the time 'Umar assumed office, and delivered the alleged official copy to 'Umar, which the second caliph then passed it to his daughter Ḥafṣa. But it is difficult for Bell to accept that 'Umar would have entrusted an official copy to his daughter. However, to me he fails to note that according to the Islamic sources 'Umar did not appoint a successor to take office. He rather appointed a council who would choose the next caliph;

⁸⁰ Richard Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1953), 40–41.

therefore during the transition period it may be understandable that ‘Umar entrusted the so-called official copy of the Qur’ān to a family member of the Prophet.

Although Bell does not believe that it was an official copy, he is certain that Ḥafṣa had a copy of the Qur’ān on *ṣuḥuf*, ‘but it hardly appears that it was an official copy made in the official way as the traditions asserts.’⁸¹ Basing his argument on Muslim sources, he discusses four editions of the Qur’ān that existed in the period between the death of the Prophet and the formation of the official Qur’ān:

1. Ubay b. Ka‘b’s (d. 22/642 or 643) copy that was followed by the people of Syria,
2. ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd’s (d. 32/642) copy accepted by the people of Kūfa,
3. Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘ārī’s (d. 42/662 or 52/672) copy accepted by the people of Baṣra,
4. Miqdād b. ‘Amr’s (d. 33/653) copy, accepted by the people of Ḥims.

But none of these copies has survived. There were small variations in the order of the verses and readings between the copies but no major changes.⁸² The Uthmanic codex has also been kept intact.⁸³ Bell further argues that Western scholarship has always been suspicious of the traditions regarding the existence of *ḥanīfs* (pre-Islamic monotheists who lived in Arabia) at the time of the Prophet. However, they are inclined to accept their existence ‘as evidence of the influence of Judaism and Christianity upon the Arabs.’ He does not believe such a group existed in history, and rather views this idea as a product of Muḥammad’s mind.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid., 41–42.

⁸² Ibid., 40–41.

⁸³ Ibid., 43.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 12.

Syriac influence on the Qur'ān

Towards the end of the 19th century, Islamic studies were shaken by a wave of criticism that put the reliability of the entire Muslim *ḥadīth* (tradition) corpus into question. Ignác Goldziher, in his iconic book *Muhammedanische Studien*, published in 1890, introduced his famous theory that Muslim *ḥadīth* literature was created as a result of political dispute among political parties after the Prophet.⁸⁵ In his book, Goldziher further argued that during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods the political struggles between the rival factions to establish their political authority, gave rise to the fabrication of *ḥadīth* literature, which was heavily used as means of legitimising the authority of the respective faction.⁸⁶

Along with his in-depth study of the historical events, his two important pieces of evidence regarding the nature of the *ḥadīth* literature are important. The first is about the oral nature of the preservation of the traditions. *Ḥadīth* were thought to be committed to the memories of individuals and passed into the next generation orally. For Goldziher this is strong evidence of unreliability of the traditions as they were not written down in the early stages and thus could easily be manipulated. Second, younger Companions narrated considerably more *ḥadīth* than older Companions, which goes against the expectation that since the older Companions had spent more time with the Prophet, they should have been reporting more traditions. Goldziher argued this despite his acceptance of the narrations on the collection of the Qur'ān by Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān.⁸⁷ With regard to the Qur'ān, Goldziher pointed out some editorial problems: incoherency and disorder especially displayed in the chapter revealed in Madina due to the misplacing of some verses and interpolations.⁸⁸ He further stated that Muḥammad used the history of the

⁸⁵ Ignác Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (London: George Allen, 1971).

⁸⁶ Ignác Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, trans. S. M. Stern and C.R. Barber (London: George Allen, 1971), 92–97.

⁸⁷ Ignác Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 28.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

Jewish scriptures and introduced himself as the 'final link' who came at the end of the chain of the Biblical Prophets.⁸⁹

Joseph Schacht, who was deeply influenced by the findings of Goldziher, further developed Goldziher's method regarding the authenticity of the Muslim traditions. According to Schacht, traditional Muslim methods for the assessment of the authenticity of the traditions are not acceptable as a historical analysis, thus they do not bear any value for historical assessment. He provided a meticulous examination of the Muslim traditions in his work entitled *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* published in 1950. In the context of the development of legal schools, instead of focusing on the political struggles like Goldziher, Schacht found that most of the traditions that have been highly esteemed by the Muslim scholars were fabricated.⁹⁰

He introduces his theory of 'projecting back', which later dominated the field and became a frame of reference in Muslim *ḥadīth* studies: According to his theory *asānīd* (chains of transmission) were later created by Muslim scholars and instead of verifying transmission of Muslim narrations that are supposedly coming from the Prophet himself, instead they go backwards; from newer transmitters to later ones in order to establish the so-called authenticity for certain narrations and thus strengthen the particular view of a legal school. Hence they are products of forgery.⁹¹ If the argument is accepted then all the traditions regarding the early history of the Qur'ān become unreliable, and as a result it has forced scholars to come up with new methods instead of taking the authenticity of Muslim sources for granted. Alphonse Mingana, in this regard, seemed to be deeply affected by these developments and lost his trust completely in the Muslim sources.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁹⁰ Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 163.

⁹¹ Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*; Schacht, "A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions," 146–148.

Mingana's article 'The Transmission of the Qur'ān' (1915-1916) was solely dedicated to the topic and influenced by Goldziher. He was the first to point out the unreliability of the early Islamic sources related to the history of the Qur'ān. He did not consider *ḥadīth* a historical source; thus it became highly problematic to establish the history of the collection of the Qur'ān from the Islamic sources as the earliest data are coming from *ḥadīth*.⁹² With regard to the traditions on the collection of the Qur'ān, Mingana pointed out the time gap between the time in which the alleged event took place and the dating of the sources that report the event. The works of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875) are the earliest sources that contain transmissions on the collection of the Qur'ān, which means there is approximately a two hundred year gap in the Muslim sources.⁹³ Even in these sources, according to Mingana, there are inconsistencies as the traditions reported from the same persons have different versions, which mention different Companions who collected the Qur'ān.⁹⁴

In order to reach his findings, alternative to the traditional methods, Mingana employed a drastically different method. He suggested that non-Islamic Syriac sources contain more important data than the Muslim sources. This is because for him they are more reliable and closer to the event of the collection of the Qur'ān.⁹⁵ It is important to note that Mingana was the first who used the word '*Hagarians*' in reference to Muslims.⁹⁶ The word and the arguments mentioned in the book later gave birth to Patricia Crone and Michael Cook's controversial book *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* which will be examined in due course.

One of these Syriac sources Mingana mentions is the discussion that took place in Syria between 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, John I, (d. 17/639). Mingana wants to see if there is any mention of the Qur'ān in the

⁹² Alphonse Mingana, "The Transmission of the Qur'ān," *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 5 (1916 1915): 26.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 27.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 36.

discussion, which would give a hint about the existence of the Qur'ān at this date. In his study of the text, Mingana heavily employs the method of *argumentum e silentio*, and after going through the details of the discussion Mingana concludes that lack of reference to the Qur'ān in the source indicates that the Qur'ān did not exist in year 18 A.H. He also points out the fact that the Bible had not been translated into Arabic at that time.⁹⁷

Mingana mentions a few other Syriac sources which do not mention a sacred book of Islam and therefore concludes that: 'it is evident that the Christian historians of the whole of the seventh century had no idea that the "Hagarian" conquerors had any sacred Book; similar is the case among historians and theologians of the beginning of the eighth century.'⁹⁸ The Qur'ān finds its place in Syriac sources only towards the end of the eighth century. Mingana introduces a different story on the collection of the Qur'ān, which is that the collection of the Qur'ān was first initiated by 'Alī, and Abū Bakr later joined in the project.⁹⁹ Then 'Uthmān collected his own version of the Qur'ān which is finally edited by Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf at the time of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who wanted to omit verses in relation to Banū Umayya and Banū 'Abbās.¹⁰⁰ Yet, he did not state why one should accept this version of the events.

In another important work entitled 'Syriac Influence on the Style of The Kur'an,' Mingana stresses the ineffectiveness of the methods that were used to examine the Qur'ān. Instead of employing different methods, he calls for a criticism of the Qur'ān similar to criticism of the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Jewish Bible.¹⁰¹ He does not believe in the authenticity of pre-Islamic material and asserts that the Qur'ān is the earliest authentic Arabic book.¹⁰² This is the premise upon which he builds his main argument: Since the Qur'ān was the first of its own kind, it might have been

⁹⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 39.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 41–42.

¹⁰¹ Alphonse Mingana, "Syriac Influence on the Style of The Kur'an," *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library* 11, no. 1 (1927): 77.

¹⁰² Alphonse Mingana, "Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kur'an.," *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 11 (1927): 77.

influenced by Syriac, 'an older and more fixed literature'.¹⁰³ He then undertakes a literary analysis of the Qur'ān with the aim of finding its Syriac origins. He claims to find evidence that some words do not make sense in their Arabic context, yet the same words make more sense in their Syriac usage.¹⁰⁴

Mingana came under heavy criticism for his methodology and conclusion. Nabia Abbott is one of those who, in her work entitled *The Rise of The North Arabic Script and Its Ẕur'ānic Development, with a Full Description of the Ẕur'ān Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute*, published in 1939, challenges Mingana's usage of *argumentum e silentio* on the Christian sources to argue that the Qur'ān did not exist in the early period of Islam. She argues that it was lack of interest and obliviousness of the Christian scholarship to drastic developments taking place in their neighbouring Arab lands, which prevented them from mentioning the holy book of the nascent monotheist religion she therefore rules out Mingana's evidence and methodology as 'inconclusive' and 'circumstantial':

Why should we expect writers whom their own written testimony proves to have been so incapable of keeping up with the march of events all around them that they even failed to realize that a new religious idea, monotheism, was taking hold of their Arab neighbors and masters-Why should we expect such a man to be so wide awake and so well informed as positively to know of a Muslim book of which, at best, but a few copies were in existence and those few carefully guarded from "unbelievers"? Even if we suppose that some of them did know what was going on, their interest were so largely to their congregations and to Christian heresy that the chances are as good, particularly in early Islāmic times, for their not mentioning the Ẕur'ān as for their mentioning it.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Mingana, "Syriac Influence on the Style of The Kur'an," 78.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 94.

¹⁰⁵ Nabia Abbott, *The Rise of The North Arabic Script and Its Ẕur'ānic Development, with a Full Description of the Ẕur'ān Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, Ilionis: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), 48.

With regard to Mingana's view regarding the collection of the Qur'ān at the time of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān for political reasons, Abbott goes on to say that if it was an issue of power, Mu'āwiya (d. 22/680) who was considered to be the founder of the Arab Kingdom, would have been a better candidate to collect the Qur'ān as he had the same motivations as 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.¹⁰⁶ She does not accept the complete authenticity of 'Uthmān's edition to the extent of Nöldeke and Schwally; her position on this issue is rather close to Sprenger and Hirschfeld who believed in the existence of omissions and interpolations in the text. Further, on this issue she concurs with 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, Casanova and Mingana, who argued that al-Ḥajjāj introduced possible changes to the present text.¹⁰⁷

Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb's *Muhammadanism*, published in 1962, similarly to the previous works, believed in the influence of Syriac Christianity on the formation of the Qur'ān.¹⁰⁸ Concepts like *tawḥīd* (monotheism) already existed amongst the Arabs. The idea was traced back to the group called *ḥanīfs*; pre-Islamic Arab monotheists who had not been considered Christian by Syrians and who inspired Muḥammad with the concept of monotheism.¹⁰⁹ However, a more significant concept for Gibb, the Day of Judgement, was clearly influenced by the works of fathers and monks of Syriac Christianity. His evidence for this is the obliviousness of the Arabs to the concepts as mentioned in the Qur'ān.¹¹⁰ In terms of the formation of the text, he accepts the Islamic version of the event and states that except for a few details, the text in its present form was stabilised by the end of the first century.¹¹¹

Christoph Lüxenberg (pseudonym), a contemporary scholar, religiously followed the teaching of Mingana and tried to further strengthen it. In his book *Die Syro-*

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb, *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 37.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 39.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 50.

aramäische Lesart des Koran, which has been translated into English under the title of *The Syrio-Aramaic Reading of the Koran*, he claims that the argument produced by Mingana about the influence of Syriac on the style of the Qurʾān remained unrefuted by the scholars. However, having said that he adds that the examples produced by Mingana to support his thesis are 'inadequate'.¹¹² In order to deal with the issue he aims to take Mingana's thesis further and strengthen it.

In this regard, Lüxenberg's aim is 'to place the text of the Koran in its historical context and to analyse it from a new philological perspective with the aim of arriving at a more convincing understanding of the Koranic text'.¹¹³ His method involves adjusting the reading of a number of quranic phrases to restore 'Ur-Qurʾānic' version. Lüxenberg's main thesis revolves around the 'Ur-Qurʾān' which he believes to be the original Syriac version from which the Qurʾān was derived. The 'Ur-Qurʾān' was not written in Arabic but rather in Syriac; yet later scholars either 'forgot or attempted to disguise' what he believes to be the reality. Lüxenberg further argues that until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, the official language of the 'Islamic State' was Syriac, and during his reign Arabic replaced it.

Contrary to popular belief, he argues that there has been a lack of oral traditions about the Qurʾān, which resulted in misreading of various words in the present Qurʾān.¹¹⁴ In order to study the text, Lüxenberg claims that he employs textual analysis in a systematic way. He uses the final edition of the Qurʾān, the Cairo edition (1923/24), as the basis, and then first tries to identify the words that have obscure meanings. As criteria for identifying the obscure words he refers to two important authoritative works respectively on the Qurʾān and Arabic language: *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* and *Lisān*.

¹¹² Christoph Luxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran: A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran* (Verlag Hans Schiler, 2007), 17.

¹¹³ Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 78.

After identifying the words he searches for possible alternative semantic meanings that make sense in the context of the text. For Lüxenberg this process is usually successful; if it fails then for the Arabic word he looks for a homonymous root in Syro-Aramaic, which better fits in the context. If this also fails he proceeds to change the diacritical points that exist in the Cairo edition of the Qurʾān. Lüxenberg claims that these diacritical points had not been there originally and had been 'erroneously' added in a later period and, as a result, the actual Arabic word might be a completely different one. In the next stage he takes on the changing of diacritical points, this time however in order to reveal the Aramaic root beneath the Arabic word.¹¹⁵ The stage is a very 'rewarding' one as in numerous cases what he believes is the Aramaic expression gives the context 'a decidedly more logical sense.'¹¹⁶

In the final stage, having depleted all the other options, Lüxenberg resorts to translating the investigated Arabic expression back into Aramaic in order to reconstruct their actual Aramaic meaning. Having employed this methodology on a number of quranic expressions, he concludes that previous scholars have wrongly assumed that the language of the Qurʾān was in the *qurayshi* dialect of Arabic, spoken in Mecca at the time of the Prophet. Instead, the language of the Qurʾān is an '*Aramaic-Arabic* hybrid language.'¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ He further strengthens his point by arguing that Mecca was originally an Aramean settlement.¹¹⁹

The book is a very controversial work and has received severe criticism from within the Western academia. De Blois has been the most vociferous critic of the book due to Lüxenberg's method and conclusion. In his review¹²⁰ of the book, his first point of departure is that unlike what Lüxenberg suggests in his book, there is nothing new

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 22–24.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 24.

¹¹⁷ Italics from the original source

¹¹⁸ Lüxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran*, 327.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ François de Blois, "Review of Die Syro-Aramäische Lesart Des Koran. Ein Beitrag Zur Entschlüsselung Der Koransprache.," *Journal of Qurʾānic Studies* V, no. 1 (August 2003): 92–97.

about his arguments. Even in the classical period Muslim scholars debated the existence of non-Arabic linguistic material in the Qur'ān and concluded that non-Arabic linguistic material existed in the Qur'ān. However, this is not a significant issue for them as all the languages were created by God and there is no problem in Him using them in His revelation.¹²¹

From a scholarly point of view, de Blois argues that if there are non-Arabic words in Arabic it does not mean that Arabic is a 'mixed language'. There were other dominant languages in the region and, like any other language, it is normal for Arabic to be influenced by these languages.

Aramaic was the principal cultural language of the area between the Sinai and the Tigris for more than a millennium and it exercised a considerable influence on all the languages of the region, including the Hebrew of the later portions of the Old Testament. The Arabs participated in the civilisation of the ancient Near East, many of them were Christians or Jews, so there is nothing surprising about the fact that they borrowed heavily from Aramaic. But this does not make Arabic a "mixed language."¹²²

De Blois then takes on Lüxenberg's method. One of the main tenets of the method is to believe that in many parts of the Qur'ān the final *aleph* (or *alif*) of an Arabic word does not stand for the Arabic accusative ending –an; instead it indicates the Aramaic ending of the determinate state.¹²³ In this regard, Lüxenberg tries to change the reading of various verses in the Qur'ān and hence make 'better sense' of them. Upon examining a number of the examples that Lüxenberg provided, de Blois concludes that Lüxenberg's command of Arabic is inadequate and led him to wrong conclusions. In any case Lüxenberg's way of 'Syro-Aramaic reading' does not make it easy to understand the Qur'ān.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Ibid., 92.

¹²² Ibid., 92–93.

¹²³ Ibid., 93.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 93–94.

According to De Blois, Lüxenberg also confuses the origins of the words that are included in the Qur'ān and chosen by him to be examined. One of the examples De Blois mentions is the words *dīnan qīman* (Q. 6:161). The words are in accusative form and the translation of them is 'firm religion' when the traditional Arabic grammar rules are applied. However, for Lüxenberg there is a syntactical difficulty in this and this can only be shortened if it is read as Syriac *dyn' qym'* (*dīnā kayyāmā*) which then would be translated as 'a firm belief'. However, de Blois has a very important point; the author overlooks the simple linguistic fact that 'unlike Arabic *dīnun*, Aramaic *dīnā* does not actually mean 'belief, religion', but only 'judgement, sentence'. Arabic *dīn*, in the meaning 'religion', is not borrowed from Aramaic which has a completely different meaning (judgement, sentence) but from Middle Persian *dēn*.' ¹²⁵

De Blois is not short of examples to show that Lüxenberg is not fully aware of the linguistics of Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac and hence makes grave mistakes in his study when including the origins of the words. De Blois further argues that he is inconsistent in his methodology as he randomly picks Arabic words that seem to resemble to Syriac and changes the meaning according to Syriac lexicon. ¹²⁶

The Wansbrough school

The 1970s were the turning point for the study of the history of the Qur'ān. Various books appeared in this period which were highly critical about the traditional view on the origins and early developments of the text of the Qur'ān. The most notable of these works were written by John Wansbrough, ¹²⁷ Patricia Crone and Michael Cook ¹²⁸ and Günter Lüling. ¹²⁹ These works posed fundamental questions *vis a vis* the

¹²⁵ Ibid., 94.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 95.

¹²⁷ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*.

¹²⁸ Patricia Crone and M. A. Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹²⁹ Günter Lüling, *A Challenge to Islam for Reformation : The Rediscovery and Reliable Reconstruction of a Comprehensive Pre-Islamic Christian Hymnal Hidden in the Koran under Earliest Islamic Reinterpretations*, 1st ed. (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2003).

origins and early history of the Qur'ān, yet failed to provide 'a satisfactory alternative interpretation'.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, they led scholars of the Qur'ān to confront the simplistic traditional view, which according to Donner was 'derived ultimately from Islam's own dogmas about its origins,'¹³¹ and through different methods paved the way for the possibility of new and radically different understandings of the history of the Qur'ān.

Wansbrough wrote two important books, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*¹³² in 1977 and *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*¹³³ in 1978 to publish his decade-long research on the origins of Islam and the Qur'ān. The books revealed a ground-breaking research that sent shockwaves across the field of quranic studies and influenced a number of scholars who further developed his thesis.

In his study Wansbrough noticed the repetition of some central themes in the Qur'ān: 'retribution, sign, exile and covenant':

Isolation of such monotheist imagery as is characteristic of themes like divine retribution and sign, covenant and exile, indicates the perpetuation in Muslim scripture of established literary types. And yet, the merely allusive style of that document would appear to preclude positing the relationship of figural interpretation (typology) admitted to exist between the Old and New Testaments.¹³⁴

The finding was crucial to his argument as it was evidence for the influence of the Old and New Testaments on the Qur'ān. This was his point of departure and he later built his thesis upon this 'evidence'. But, his argument was not new; as we have

¹³⁰ Fred McGraw Donner, "The Qur'ān in Recent Scholarship—Challenges and Desiderata," in *The Qur'ān in Its Historical Context*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 30.

¹³¹ Idem., 30.

¹³² Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*.

¹³³ John Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Amherst, N.Y: Prometheus Books, 2006).

¹³⁴ Fred McGraw Donner, "The Qur'ān in Recent Scholarship—Challenges and Desiderata," in *The Qur'ān in Its Historical Context*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 33.

mentioned earlier Spengler and Tisdall had already pointed out the same issue. It seems however that Wansbrough systemised their thesis by heavily employing the method of literary analysis.

Wansbrough examines the story of Shu‘ayb as an example of the influence of the Mosaic traditions on the Qur’ān. For Wansbrough, the story of Shu‘ayb offers strong evidence of ‘literary elaboration’ of well-known prophetic reports. According to Wansbrough ‘such elaboration is characteristic of Muslim scripture, in which a comparatively small number of themes is preserved in varying stages of literary achievement.’¹³⁵ Another evidence Wansbrough states for the influence of the Old and New Testaments on the Qur’ān is the ambiguous and ‘referential’ style of the Qur’ān; that the Qur’ān alludes to Biblical stories, as for example in the story of Joseph.¹³⁶

Wansbrough argues that in its reference to Biblical stories, the Qur’ān ‘expects the reader to have familiarity with Judeo-Christian scripture’. He then asserts that

‘the quantity of reference, the mechanically repetitious employment of rhetorical convention, and the stridently polemical style, all suggest a strong sectarian atmosphere, in which a corpus of familiar scripture was being pressed into the service of as yet unfamiliar doctrine.’¹³⁷

Second, Wansbrough points out the influence of Muslim scholars in the formation of text of the Qur’ān which he believes to be identical to the Rabbinical influence of ‘pre-creation’ of the Torah. He maintains that it was not Muḥammad who preached from the Qur’ān; rather the Qur’ān was derived by scholars from the teachings of the Prophet over a long period of time. Al-Suyūṭī, Wansbrough claims, was one of these scholars who expanded the meaning of the *waḥy* from words of God to what

¹³⁵ Ibid., 25.

¹³⁶ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 1.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 29.

was thought to be understanding of God's intention.¹³⁸ Al-Suyūṭī used the chronology of revelation or *asbāb al-nuzūl* (occasions or circumstances of revelation) to grasp the intention of God.

Wansbrough questions the historicity of the quranic material on the grounds of the literary formulations of the events. He believes that the prevalent concept in the Qur'ān was that the events took place during the advent of Islam as an 'act of God'.¹³⁹ This, for him, meant that for him they did not exist in reality but in the literary form, thus it is essential to carry out a literary analysis in order to study it. However, the results of such a study will not verify the historicity of the events, as 'a literary analysis can, after all, only reveal what seems to be the essential role of historiography, namely, the unceasing reinterpretation of tradition.'¹⁴⁰ Thus, it cannot answer the question of 'what really happened'. In his complicated language, Wansbrough means that since he argued earlier that the events mentioned in the Qur'ān have no historicity, as a result the Qur'ān as a text has no historical value and should not be treated as a historical text. Instead, as a religious text it has only literary value and should only be examined from this aspect.

Wansbrough believed that none of the conclusions made by previous Western scholars were correct and his approach was in this regard quite drastic: 'Muslim scripture is not only composite, but also, and such can be inferred from a typological analysis of Quranic exegesis, that the period required for its achievement was rather more than a single generation.'¹⁴¹ What Wansbrough perhaps means is that the Qur'ān is a collective product of Muslims, which came into existence two hundred years after the Prophet in Mesopotamia.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 36.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁴⁰ Idem., 43.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 44.

However, later scholars like Donner are not convinced with Wansbrough's conclusion about the origins of the Qur'ān. In his article entitled 'Narratives of Islamic Origins: The beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing', Donner argues that

Wansbrough's hypothesis of a very late crystallization of the quranic text outside of the Arabia is not in accord with the internal evidence of the text, which implies a very early crystallization (before the first civil war (36-41/656-61) and, for at least parts of the text, an origin in Western Arabia.¹⁴²

It is very difficult to understand Wansbrough's works owing to their complex and difficult style. But there are two works through which we may be able to gain a better access to the ideas of Wansbrough, which will be examined in the next section.

Decoding Wansbrough

One of the scholars who has unveiled Wansbrough's thesis is Herbert Berg.¹⁴³

According to Berg, Wansbrough points to the difference in 'exegetical material' in terms of function and style: By function he means the role a certain type of exegesis plays 'in formulation of its history by a self-conscious religious community.'

Borrowing some terms from Jewish scriptural interpretation, Wansbrough classifies the material according to exegetical types ('typical context' or 'habitual framework'): *haggadic* (narrative), *halakhic* (legal), *masoretic* (textual), rhetorical, and allegorical.¹⁴⁴

By style Wansbrough means the 'explicative elements' or 'procedural devices' which have been employed by Muslim exegetes. Wansbrough identifies twelve such elements: anecdote, prophetic tradition, identification, circumstances of revelation, abrogation, analogy, periphrasis, poetic citations, grammatical explanation, lexical

¹⁴² Donner, "The Historical Context", 33.

¹⁴³ Herbert Berg, "The Skepticism And Literary Analysis Of J. Wansbrough, A. Rippin, Et Al.," in *The Koran: Translation and exegesis.*, ed. Colin Turner., *Critical concepts in Islamic studies IV* (London [u.a.]: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004)

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 271–272.

explanation, variant reading, and rhetorical explanation.¹⁴⁵ Similar to Schacht, Berg continues, Wansbrough believed that Islamic law emerged independently from the Qur'ān as it was not used in an organised principle for passing Islamic rulings. The Qur'ān later on gained status and was considered the source of Islamic Law. In an attempt to incorporate the scripture into the existing legal system, jurists developed the concept of *asbāb al-nuzūl*, by which a historical order was asserted on the text.

It was subjected to the same requirements as legal *ḥadīth* and so also therefore produced in much the same way. This gave *sunna* priority over the Qur'ān, for the occasions of revelation material assumed the guise of prophetic *sunna*.¹⁴⁶

Although Berg gives a good insight into the thesis of Wansbrough, Andrew Rippin's work entitled 'Literary Analysis of Koran, *Tafsīr*, and *Sīra*: The Methodologies of John Wansbrough on Wansbrough' is a more comprehensive and crucial text for gaining access to Wansbrough's works. In his article Rippin first discusses the idea of considering religions 'in history', as Judaism and Christianity have both been considered 'in history'. Such a view for Rippin 'has led to an emphasis on the desire to rediscover "what really happened," ultimately, because of the underlying belief that this discovery would demonstrate the ultimate truth or falsity of the individual religion.'¹⁴⁷

According to Rippin, taking this view gives rise to an important problem in religious studies: Historians suppose that

sources available to us to describe the historical foundations of a given religion, most specifically the scriptures, contain within them discernible historical data which can be used to provide positive historical results. In other words, the approach assumes that the motivation of the writers of

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 272.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 273.

¹⁴⁷ Andrew Rippin, "Literary Analysis of Koran, Tafsir, and Sira: The methodologies of John Wansbrough," in *The Origins of the Koran: Classic Essays on Islam's Holy Book*, ed. Ibn Warraq (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1998), 351.

such sources were the same as the motivations of present-day historians, namely, to record "what really happened".¹⁴⁸

Rippin believes that Islam has also been treated as a religion 'in history', thus it was assumed that its sources, such as the Qur'ān are evidence of 'what really happened'. He argues that in order to get results from the sources we need to take note of 'the literary qualities of the sources available to us'.¹⁴⁹ This is important considering the fact that the availability of historical material is limited in early Islam. Further external sources are also limited and usage of them is problematic. Crone and Cook heavily used external sources but attracted harsh criticism from academia even from scholars like Wansbrough, who has criticised the work of Crone and Cook¹⁵⁰ for heavily relying on external sources.¹⁵¹

In their highly controversial work *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* published in 1977, Patricia Crone and Michael A. Cook argued that there is no hard evidence within the Islamic sources regarding the existence of the Qur'ān in any form before the last decade of the seventh century. Even these sources, they contend, have no historical value; the sources that can be considered historically valuable began to appear from the middle of the eight-century. Considering the time gap, it becomes 'problematic' to establish historicity of the Qur'ān from the Islamic sources. Hence, the suggestion of the authors, similar to Mingana, is to look for external sources by which the authenticity of the Qur'ān might be established.¹⁵² The earliest external source wherein there is reference to the Qur'ān is dated back to the late Umayyad period; a dialogue between an Arab and the monk of Bet Hale. However, the content of this text could have been different from the text that is existent today.¹⁵³ The religion of Muḥammad, the book has made ample use of Judeo-Christian heritage, and adapted their core concepts in a period of time after

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 352.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.352

¹⁵⁰ Cook has later moved away from his approach to the early Islamic sources.

¹⁵¹ Idem., 352

¹⁵² Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 3.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 18.

which the Qur'ān safely came into existence.¹⁵⁴ This transition took place mainly during the reign of Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik.¹⁵⁵

However, Michael G. Morony is not satisfied with the methodological preferences of Crone and Cook. Their methodology to use hostile sources over the Islamic sources without questioning their reliability does not make any sense to Morony. This is because their decision to look at the history of Islam from the perspectives of Judaic and Christian sources will inevitably lead them to the conclusion that Islam is a messianic religion and therefore the Qur'ān is a result of Judeo-Christian culture. Their methodology is selective in reference to non-Islamic sources as they ignore some other sources that contradict the authors' conclusions about the history of the Qur'ān.¹⁵⁶ They also ignore the recent studies which argue historicity of the Islamic sources and internal critics of the Qur'ān. Finally and more harshly Morony concludes that 'the argument is presented in elusive, allusive, symbolic language using intentional malapropisms ("Ottoman rabbis") for their shock value which seems to obscure their points deliberately.'¹⁵⁷

Further, Crone and Cook appear to believe in the superiority of Judaism and Christianity over other religions; thus 'similarities and cross-influences' between the religions are interpreted as 'intentional, one-way, post-conquest borrowings'.¹⁵⁸ It is obvious to the reader that *Hagarism* does not clearly address the question of why, if we can trust non-Islamic sources, can we not trust the Islamic sources and must they be discarded completely? In return, it gives the impression that the methodology of the *Hagarism* is built upon, authors' 'prejudices', as Morony mentioned.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 19–20.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 29.

¹⁵⁶ Michael G. Morony, "[untitled]," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41, no. 2 (April 1, 1982): 158.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Going back to Rippin's description of Wansbrough; for Rippin, Wansbrough's *Quranic Studies* deals with the formation of the Qur'ān and exegetical writings.¹⁵⁹ Rippin explains the methodology of Wansbrough in a simple way:

The basic methodological point of Wansbrough's works is to ask the prime question not usually posed in the study of Islam: What is the evidence? Do we have witnesses to the Muslim accounts of the formation of their own community in any early disinterested sources? The Koran (in the form collected "between two covers" as we know it today) is a good example: What evidence is there for the historical accuracy of the traditional accounts of the compilation of that book shortly after the death of Muhammad?¹⁶⁰

Rippin is dissatisfied with the works of other Western scholars in their study of the Qur'ān especially their answer to the question: 'Why should we not trust the Muslim sources?'. John Burton is one of those scholars, and in comparing the works of Wansbrough and Burton in the light of their answers to the question, Rippin makes the differences clear. Wansbrough took a more radical view, which to Rippin is the ideal way to approach quranic studies:

[...] for example as argued by John Burton in *The Collection of The Koran*, where internal contradiction within the Muslim sources is emphasized and then that fact is combined with a postulated explanation of how such contradiction came about. No, Wansbrough's point of departure is more radical: the entire corpus of early Islamic documentation must be viewed as "Salvation History." What the Koran is trying to evidence, what *tafsīr*, *sīra*, and theological writings are trying to explicate, is how the sequence of worldly events centered on the time of Muḥammad was directed by God. All the components of Islamic salvation history are meant to witness the same point of faith, namely, an understanding of history that sees God's role in directing the affairs of humankind.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Rippin, "Literary Analysis of Koran, Tafsir, and Sira: The Methodologies of John Wansbrough," 354.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Idem., 354

The concept of Salvation History is a Biblical concept and has a different meaning in Christianity and Judaism. Wansbrough, who was influenced by the Biblical studies of Gaza Vermes and Raphael Loewe¹⁶² borrows the term and applies it to quranic studies.¹⁶³ Rippin acknowledges the caveats of using Biblical concepts in examining the Qur'ān, yet he makes it clear that this should not be taken as a negative approach. According to Rippin, Wansbrough's aim is not 'straightjacketing' Islam into a Christian framework'.¹⁶⁴ What salvation history means according to Rippin is 'a technical term referring to literature involved in documenting what could just as easily be called 'sacred history' of man's relationship with God and vice versa'.¹⁶⁵

According to Salvation History, sources claim to be contemporary to the event that they describe; however they were written in a much later period which according to Rippin suggests that 'they have been written according to later points of views in order to fit the purposes of that later time'.¹⁶⁶ This argument seems to be the implementation of Schacht's 'projecting back' theory on the history of the Qur'ān.

Muslim conspiracy against the Qur'ān

John Burton's work entitled *The Collection of the Qur'ān* was a provocative book on the issue of the collection of the Qur'ān. His findings – not his method – are very different from any other western scholars. In his book, inspired by Schacht's findings, Burton studies the parallel developments of the Islamic traditions and the appearance of major Islamic legal schools in four prominent centres of the time: Mecca, Medīna, Kūfa and Baṣra. The relation between the two is the core point of Burton's thesis, as he believes there was fierce rivalry between these legal schools; they were ready to defend the position of their particular schools at any cost, which entailed disregarding the clear rulings of the Qur'ān.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Ibid., 361.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 355.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 355.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 355–356.

¹⁶⁷ John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, First Edition (Cambridge University Press, 1977), 10.

Having scrutinised a number of legal traditions and pointed out the inconsistencies among them, Burton concludes that the rivalry between the legal schools went as far as the fabrication of traditions that would reinforce their relevant school's point of view. For Burton, this fabrication process became so established that the opinions of legal schools became a source of Islamic law along with the Qur'ān and *Sunna*.¹⁶⁸ According to Wilferd Madelung, Burton establishes his argument on the findings of Schacht that Islamic legal traditions are unreliable. He extends his conclusions to the traditions related to the Qur'ān.¹⁶⁹

For Burton the fabrication process required a number of tools to put the fabricated traditions into effect: First the fabricators needed to devise a system through which they could establish the reliability of the traditions and also attack the reliability of rival schools' views. This gave rise to the introduction of '*isnād* criticism'. Traditions were classified according to the historical reliability of each individual who made up the chain of narration of *aḥādīth* (*mutawātir*, *mashhūr* etc.).¹⁷⁰ In the case of contradiction between the verdicts of legal schools and verses of the Qur'ān, another technique was devised: *Asbāb al-nuzūl*. The technique aimed to give 'context' to various quranic verses to bring them in line with the views of the legal schools.¹⁷¹

Asbāb al-nuzūl alone was not enough to 'manipulate' the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān was a powerful source for legal rulings and hence posed a serious obstacle in the legal schools' assertion of their verdicts. In this regard, the method of *al-nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh*¹⁷² (abrogating and abrogated) provided a handy tool for the legal schools

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁶⁹ Wilferd Madelung, "Review: [untitled]," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 3 (1979): 429.

¹⁷⁰ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, 14–15.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 15.

¹⁷² These are jargons used in quranic studies to identify certain verses of the Qur'ān that are abrogated by other verses or traditions of the Prophet. In broad terms, those who believe in the legitimacy of the concept argue that at the time of the Prophet some verses of the Qur'ān became irrelevant and thus needed to be abrogated. The number of the verses that are abrogated in the Qur'ān is disputed among Muslims scholars: it is thought to be 3 to 400 verses.

to eliminate the effect of certain verses that went against their legal opinions, as well as find legitimacy, in the Qur'ān.¹⁷³ The concepts of *al-nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh* are crucial to the thesis of Burton and are intimately related to issue of the collection of the Qur'ān. In order to stress this connection, Burton asks 'what, if any, significance the principles of *naskh* had for the framing of the Muslim accounts of the history of the Qur'ān texts, and when and in what circumstance the texts were envisaged as having been first assembled.'¹⁷⁴

The concept of abrogation worked well for 'manipulating' most of the 'problematic' verses of the Qur'ān; however, an auxiliary method was needed to deal with some other 'inflexible' verses, and therefore the variant readings of the Qur'ān came into existence. Through utilising this tool, the legal schools could easily bend the Arabic grammar and give a meaning to the text which supports their point of view.¹⁷⁵ In order to support his argument, Burton mentions the example of the verse about running (*ṭawāf*) between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa Q. 2.158: 'There shall be no blame on him who performs *ṭawāf* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.' The verse permits pilgrimages to *ṭawāf* at al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, the two holy places located in Mecca. For Burton the meaning of the verse is clear; the legal ruling for the performance is *mubāḥ* (neither forbidden nor recommended). Yet, a tradition narrated from 'Ā'isha, reportedly the favourite wife of the Prophet, declares a different ruling: It is forbidden to omit the performance of *ṭawāf*. 'Ā'isha's verdict is based on the variant readings and she concludes that 'omission of *ṭawāf* would have called a different reading' and convinces 'Urwa, a companion of the Prophet, that *ṭawāf* between *al-Ṣafā* and *al-Marwa* cannot be omitted.¹⁷⁶

Throughout his work, Burton makes abundant use of al-Ṭabarī when he explains the exegetical aspect of the issue, especially al-Ṭabarī's work *Jāmi'* known as 'the

¹⁷³ Ibid., 17.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 19.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 31-32.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 12-13.

oldest of the surviving major special exegetical works'.¹⁷⁷ Burton then makes an interesting conclusion: the general assumption that *fiqh* was derived from the Qur'ān was a false one; instead the Qur'ān (he means variant readings) was derived from *fiqh*. Legal schools created their own copies of the Qur'ān that would concur with their own legal points. In order to strengthen his conclusion, Burton examines several *aḥādīth* that demonstrate how the variant readings of quranic verses led to different legal rulings.¹⁷⁸

Burton comes to the conclusion that although the legal schools had their contentions on many issues, they all concurred on one issue that the Qur'ān was 'incomplete'.¹⁷⁹ The various tools that they used, especially the concept of abrogation, implicitly gave rise to the idea of 'incompleteness' of the Qur'ān. If abrogation was a constant practice during the lifetime of the Prophet, so long as the revelation continued, the Qur'ān could not be completed as some verses were omitted and some others replaced by others. For Burton, this inevitably led to the acceptance of another view: the Qur'ān was not collected during the lifetime of the Prophet; many traditions narrated that it was rather collected in a later period during the caliphs. In order to support his point, Burton studies traditions regarding the collection of the Qur'ān and finds many inconsistencies in them.¹⁸⁰

Muslim legal schools, for Burton, devised certain methods, concepts and traditions for matching their legal opinions with the existing quranic scripture. The most important hurdle for them to overcome was the idea that the Qur'ān was collected at the time of the Prophet. If they could tackle the issue then they could easily 'adjust' the Qur'ān according to the teachings of their schools. Upon saying that, Burton states his overall verdict on the issue: in the light of the unreliability of the traditions

¹⁷⁷ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, 85.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p.34

¹⁷⁹ By incompleteness he means the *muṣḥaf*. For Burton there are two distinct names for the Qur'ān, *muṣḥaf* and *kitāb* that are mentioned abundantly in the traditions. *Muṣḥaf* was thought to be the text that we have at present in the incomplete form due to abrogation. However, *kitāb* is the actual source that included all the abrogated verses e.g. 'stoning' and 'suckling'.

¹⁸⁰ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, 111–117.

that claim the Qur'ān was collected after the time of the Prophet, and 'proven' conspiracy against the Qur'ān, it was the Prophet who must have collected the Qur'ān during his lifetime. Burton does not prove that the Prophet collected the Qur'ān but instead in his in-depth study, he tries to disprove that the caliphs collected the Qur'ān. Hence his study does not lead to any conclusion about the collection of the Qur'ān at the time of the Prophet.

Many Western scholars do not agree with Burton's conclusion that the Prophet himself collected the Qur'ān. One of them is Madelung, who maintains that although we accept the premise that some legal schools were motivated to undermine an official copy edited and disseminated by the Prophet, this would not prevent other parties and individuals from raising their objections against such a conspiracy. He also challenges Burton's argument that the most pressing motivation for the legal schools to undermine the existence of the so-called Prophet's copy was the notion of *naskh al-tilāwa dūna al-ḥukm* as it was rejected by some schools of thought.¹⁸¹

Concluding comments

In the first section (entitled 'Discovering the biblical roots of the Qur'ān') of the chapter I have noted that in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, Western scholars' interest in relation to quranic studies focused mostly on the influence of Judeo-Christian heritage on the Qur'ān. From the methodological point of view these works mostly relied on comparison of the Muslim and biblical sources, selective usage of Muslim traditions (they tend to pick the traditions that support their point of view and ignore those which contradicted their point of view) and textual analysis of the Qur'ān to support their arguments.

The most prominent scholars of the time were Geiger, Weil, Tisdall, Hirschfeld, Guillaume, Jeffrey, Nöldeke and Muir, as their studies left a long-lived legacy in the field of quranic studies. Among these scholars, Geiger and Tisdall's works were

¹⁸¹ Madelung, "Review," 430.

perhaps the most influential for the development of quranic studies in the West. Geiger's method of studying the linguistic aspect of the Qur'ān continued to attract the attention of the consequent scholars and later evolved into the view that the Qur'ān has only literary value. Further, Tisdall was the first scholar who mentioned the referential style of the Qur'ān. Geiger and Tisdall's influence can clearly be seen on the Wansbrough school, which adopted the arguments of the two scholars and further developed them into a sophisticated method.

In the section, I also drew attention to Nöldeke and Muir's approach to the history of the Qur'ān. Their attitude can be considered traditional as they accept the traditional Muslim narration on the issue. However, their works were still significant as they provided a textual analysis of the Qur'ān, which led them to question the format of the Qur'ān, especially the order of its chapters. Towards the end of the section, by referring to the views of Neuwirth, who is a leading contemporary expert in textual analysis of the Qur'ān, I have noted that textual analysis of the Qur'ān does not always amount to pointing out its 'errors' and 'inconsistencies'. Rather, it may be used in establishing the historicity of the text of the Qur'ān.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that all the scholars mentioned above agree that the Qur'ān was the work of Muḥammad. Thus they do not challenge the historicity of the Qur'ān in the sense that they all concur that the originator of the Qur'ān was Muḥammad, although he was deeply influenced by Judeo-Christian heritage in its formation. Therefore, in general they (excluding Neuwirth) do not seem to debate the history of the collection/compilation of the Qur'ān as this was not directly relevant to their arguments. Still, as we have noted above, the arguments and methods of these scholars are very pertinent to the debate on the history of the Qur'ān as the later scholars who studied the history (or historicity) of the Qur'ān built their arguments on these scholars' arguments and methods.

In the second section (entitled 'Challenging the Muslim sources'), I have discussed Sprenger, Caetani and Bell's views. Unlike the first group, these scholars raised doubt about the reliability of the early Muslim sources and authenticity of the

Qur'ān. In this regard Sprenger argues that although Muḥammad initiated the compilation of the Qur'ān, Muslim scholars edited the Qur'ān in later periods to elevate the status of the Prophet. Caetani's views are more pertinent to our study as he developed a very different theory regarding the first collation of the Qur'ān. He opposed the view that 'Uthmān collected the first official version of the Qur'ān and argued that his codex was a local text and its collection motivated by the political ambition of suppression of political opponents. Therefore, he speculates that during the process of the collation of 'Uthmān's codex there might have been some omissions from the Qur'ān that contradicted with 'Uthmān's course of action.

In the third section (entitled 'Syriac influence on the Qur'ān'), I first discussed the influence of Goldziher and Schacht's studies. Their works severely scrutinise the early Muslim sources and traditional Muslim methods in assessing them. Goldziher and Schacht then conclude that traditional Muslim sources and methods are unreliable. Goldziher's study focuses on *ḥadīth* studies but influenced Mingana's approach to the history of the text of the Qur'ān. Based on Goldziher's findings, Mingana suggests that since the traditional account of the collection of the Qur'ān comes from Muslim sources that were assessed according to Muslim methods, it must be discarded. Instead, he makes use of non-Islamic Syriac sources and hence sets a precedent for the use of external sources in the study of the history of the Qur'ān. Most importantly, Mingana for the first time came up with a different date for the formation of the official copy of the Qur'ān: He concluded that Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, at the time of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, produced the final version of the Qur'ān. Mingana's contribution to the debate regarding the history of the Qur'ān is very significant from two aspects: first, for diverting the attention of the scholars from Muslim sources to non-Muslim sources, and second, for providing an alternative date for the formation of the official version of the Qur'ān. Lützenberg later adopted Mingana's method and argument, and attempted to further strengthen it. His study resulted in a radical conclusion that the original language of the Qur'ān is an *'Aramaic-Arabic* hybrid language.

In the fourth and fifth sections (entitled 'The Wansbrough school' and 'Decoding Wansbrough'), I have studied the Wansbrough school and the influence of its proponents to the study of the history of the text of the Qur'ān. Wansbrough's two influential works, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* and *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* made a major impact in the field of quranic studies. His point of departure was the influence of the Jewish scriptures on the Qur'ān. In this regard, his views carried the hallmarks of Spengler and Tisdall, especially one of his core arguments, the 'referential style' of the Qur'ān. Wansbrough further systemised their thesis by heavily employing the method of literary analysis. He then reached the conclusion that the present Qur'ān does not consist of Muḥammad's teachings; rather it contains Muslim scholars' perception of the teachings which were filtered through Judeo-Christian heritage and came into existence over a two hundred year period. On the other hand, Patricia Crone and Michael A. Cook heavily relied on external evidence and dated the history of the Qur'ān to 'Abd al-Malik's reign in the Umayyad period.

Finally, in the last section (entitled 'Muslim conspiracy against the Qur'ān'), I studied Burton's approach to the history of the Qur'ān. Burton employed Schacht's argument on the traditions regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān and through 'disproving' the authenticity of the traditions concluded that Muḥammad personally collated the Qur'ān.

The chapter has shown that Western academia has developed various arguments in relation to the history of the text of the Qur'ān. One may suggest that these arguments seem to be mostly influenced by scholars' adherence to a particular method and one can never be sure what leads a scholar to adopt a certain method. The process of adopting a particular method is a subjective process and there does not seem to be a clear-cut explanation for it.

In any case, it does not make sense to adopt a method (or argument) that aims to study the early period of Islam but leaves out Muslim sources. Such an attitude

cannot be justified by certain theories that early Muslim sources are the result of a later fabrication process. Even Muslim scholars agree that a significant number of sources related to the early period of Islam contain some fabrication, but this does not mean that they were all fabricated. As we have discussed in this chapter, there are numerous flaws in such theories and it is very difficult to justify them. Of course, there is some truth in those arguments such as that early Muslim sources amount to oral traditions and it is difficult to establish the historicity of these traditions. Further, traditional Muslim methods are deficient in assessing the reliability of the early sources and there were attempts at fabrication by early Muslims.

Discarding the entire Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus is not a solution to this problem of uncertainty. Yet, excluding the scholars covered in the first section, the common characteristic of all the methods that we have covered in this chapter is that they build their arguments on this premise and consequently, they have come under heavy criticism. In the backdrop of such a quandary, a third solution may be that scholars of the early period of Islam try to devise more effective and competent methods that can produce reliable assessment and dating of Muslim traditions, such as the *isnād-cum-matn* method which this study has adopted.

CHAPTER TWO

MUSLIM RESPONSES TO THE WESTERN CRITICISMS OF QURANIC TEXTUAL HISTORY

In this chapter, I will discuss the Muslim reaction to Western scholars' criticism of the early Muslim sources. The justification for including such a chapter may be that there has been an ongoing debate in Western academia regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān and various attempts have been made to classify Western scholars' view on the subject. However, these classifications by and large are not applicable to Muslim scholars who also contribute to the field. Whether one agrees or not, some Muslim scholars showed a particular interest in this debate not only for academic reasons but also due to the status of the Qur'ān for Muslims.

In this regard, a number of Muslim scholars relied on purely religious arguments to defend their positions. However, some other Muslim scholars, such as Fazlur Rahman, Yasin Dutton and Behnam Sadeghi mostly relied on methods and arguments that are acceptable by academic standards, although it is still evident from their study that they have more than an academic interest in the subject.¹⁸²

In order to make better sense of the study, I have divided the chapter into three sections based on relevant scholars' arguments and, most importantly, their methods. The first section, entitled 'Convincing "non-Believers" of the authenticity of the Qur'ān through the Qur'ān: The Muslim approach to the history of the text' deals with the traditional Muslim scholars' reaction to the debate, which they consider merely a religious debate. They, in return, try to come up with religious arguments and reassert traditional Muslim methods to deal with the arguments.

¹⁸² See Sadeghi, Behnam, and Mohsen Goudarzi. "Ṣan'ā' 1 and the Origins of the Qur'ān : Der Islam." *Der Islam* 87, no. 1–2 (March 2012): 1–129. doi:10.1515/islam-2011-0025.

In the second section, entitled 'Arguing historicity of the Qur'ān', I will focus on reformist Muslim scholar Fazlur Rahman whose approach to the debate is scientific and thus very different from the traditional Muslim approach. He adeptly scrutinises the existing theories about the history of the text of the Qur'ān and exposes leaps in these arguments. Still, he does not provide an alternative method to assess the relevant sources. For these reasons I have treated his approach in the second section of the Chapter.

In the third section, entitled 'Use of Archaeological data', the focus is on arguments that are acquired through archaeological discoveries. Examination of archaeological data has been considered the backbone of any historical study and some Muslim scholars adopted this method to reach a breakthrough in establishing the history of the text of the Qur'ān. Therefore, the scholars who are included in this group are different from the other scholars in the sense that they have a strong standing in both argument and methodology.

Convincing 'non-believers' of the authenticity of the Qur'ān through the Qur'ān: The orthodox Muslim approach to the history of the text

As opposed to the Western scholars who treat the Qur'ān as a historical or literary object, Muslim scholars believe that the Qur'ān was revealed from God through Gabriel to the Prophet gradually and God Himself composed every word of it. Upon receiving the revelation, the Prophet repeated the verses loudly to his followers and his official writers who would write it down for him.

The increasing amount of criticism regarding the apparent inconsistencies in the early Muslim traditions about the history of the Qur'ān, and methodological shortcomings of the orthodox Muslim scholarship to address the issues in line with the Western standards, led some Muslim scholars to dutifully respond to the critics. However, the volumes of these works have been small in number and some of the most notable of these works will be discussed in this chapter. The previous chapter, while reflecting on the Western perspective about the subject, gave a brief insight

into the traditional Muslim perspective of the collection of the Qur'ān, thus in order to avoid repetition the same information will not be discussed in this chapter; instead previously unmentioned data that reflect on the Muslim response will be discussed.

Muhammad Khalifa's book *The Sublime Quran and Orientalism*¹⁸³ is one of the important works that tries to deal with Western scholarship's criticism. His first point of departure against criticism of the Western scholarship is the Qur'ān itself; he argues that the Prophet faced similar criticisms at his time as unbelievers did not consider him a Prophet and instead tried to undermine his mission by considering him a 'poet, a thinker, an epileptic or bewitched, or to have relied on Jewish and Christian sources in composing the Book'.¹⁸⁴ He believes the arguments that are held against the Qur'ān at present are of similar nature and therefore he uses relevant quranic verses to counter the criticism of Western academia.¹⁸⁵

He then takes on the argument about the Christian-Jewish influence on Muḥammad; although he accepts the reports regarding Muḥammad's travels to Syria and his encounters with Christian figures such as Baḥīrā (Sergius), he stresses that the meeting was rather brief and took place long before the Prophet began to preach Islam.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, he rules out the possibility of Baḥīrā's influence on Muḥammad. As we have noted in the previous chapter, another person who is believed to have taught Muḥammad about Christianity was Salmān, a close companion of the Prophet. Khalifa's response to this is that around two thirds of the Qur'ān were revealed in Mecca, but Salmān joined the Prophet after his immigration to Madina and consequently Muḥammad had received most of the Qur'ān before he met Salmān. In light of this, Khalifa asserts that the argument is baseless.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Muhammad Khalifa, *The Sublime Quran and Orientalism*, Second Edition (Karachi, Pakistan: International Islamic Publishers, 1989).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Khalifa has two main arguments to support the Muslim claim that the Qur'ān was revealed to Muḥammad from God and that he transmitted it without any alteration. The first is the literary style of the Qur'ān and the second is the content of it. In order to demonstrate the first, he points to the story of Labīb b. Rabī'ah (d. 661), a very famous poet who lived at the time of the Prophet. The story goes that when Labīb, an idol worshipper at the time, sees the verses of the Qur'ān on the door of the Ka'ba, he becomes mesmerised with their eloquence and upon this immediately professes Islam. The second incident is the conversion of the second Caliph 'Umar, once one of the archenemies of Islam, 'Umar gets hold of a page on which some quranic verses were written. Upon reading the verses he also becomes transfixed by their eloquence and immediately becomes a Muslim.¹⁸⁸

Khalifa then uses arguments that underestimate the capabilities of Western academia. He lambasts Western scholars for not having a deep understanding of Arabic language and concludes that they are not capable of appreciating the linguistic significance of the Qur'ān.¹⁸⁹ He then attempts to criticise Wansbrough's thesis that the Qur'ān was developed two hundred years after the Prophet as a result of the collective work of people who lived in the region. However, like his other assertions, Khalifa's argument is not very convincing as he cannot address the criticism of Wansbrough accurately. Instead he expects Wansbrough to accept the Muslim version of history which maintains that the Qur'ān existed (not collated) at the time of the Prophet, without explaining why. The strongest evidence he can put forward is some verses from the Qur'ān, however it does not make any sense since Wansbrough claims that the Qur'ān was put together two hundred years after the demise of the Prophet, thus cannot be used as an evidence.¹⁹⁰

With regard to the evidences about the content of the Qur'ān, he makes reference to some of the verses that require scientific knowledge that was unknown at the

¹⁸⁸ Muhammad Khalifa, *The Sublime Quran and Orientalism*, 18–19.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 21.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 43.

time of the Muḥammad,¹⁹¹ consequently pointing out the miraculous nature of the Qur'ān. He keeps blaming Western scholars for 'overlooking historical facts' but he does not grasp that they do not accept Muslim sources as 'historical facts'; hence his arguments fail to address the criticism of the Western scholarship.¹⁹²

Further, Khalifa contradicts himself as he very often refers to Western scholars' account of the incidents that are believed to have taken place during the advent of Islam, assuming that acceptance of these incidents by some Western scholars would remove the doubts that have been cast on the authenticity of these events. In other words, he is selective in his reading of Western scholarship as he accepts them on some issues, which are seemingly supporting his arguments, but dismisses others that go against his arguments.

Similar to some other traditional Muslim scholars such as Muhammad al-Azami,¹⁹³ he adamantly refuses to accept the possibility of the existence of personal copies of the Qur'ān put together during the lifetime of the Prophet. This is perhaps motivated by the fear that the existence of such copies would diminish the reliability of the official story that it was 'Uthmān who collected the Qur'ān first. In this regard, he argues that Burton was mistaken in assuming that the alleged copies of Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Ubay were the actual copies of the Qur'ān. His opinion is that they did not have copies of it but rather wrote comments on the Qur'ān. Nevertheless, he fails to provide a plausible explanation on the issue.¹⁹⁴

Khalifa finally discusses about the lack of understanding among the Western scholarship on the issue of Meccan and Madinan chapters of the Qur'ān. His argument is that their criteria are not strong and based on conjecture, and he believes that they were not able to understand the Qur'ān. However, yet again he

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 29–34.

¹⁹² Ibid., 44.

¹⁹³ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qur'ānic Text: From Revelation to Compilation; a Comparative Study with the Old and New Testaments* (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

does not provide any systematic criticism or method to deal with the claims of the scholars such as Bell, Muir and Nöldeke.¹⁹⁵ His approach is mostly out-dated and appeals only to some Muslim readers who would consider the stories mentioned in the Muslim sources authentic. Nevertheless his arguments would not find any sympathy among the Western scholars who are sceptical about the authenticity of the sources.

Another important yet inadequate example of this attempt can be seen in the recent work of Muḥammad Mustafa al-Azami entitled *The History of the Qur'ānic Text from Revelations to Compilation*.¹⁹⁶ Al-Azami's work is reactionary as he is particularly bitter about Toby Lester's sensational and speculative article¹⁹⁷ informing the public about the ongoing scholarly debate on the origins of the Qur'ān. Although his point of departure is a magazine article, which might seem to reduce the academic value of the work, the book is nevertheless still significant since it provides insight into the approach of the orthodox Muslim scholars to the debate.

In his work, al-Azami is under the assumption that the whole debate is a religious issue between the Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars. As a result, he wants to bring the Old and New Testaments into the debate to compare and 'demonstrate' that Qur'ān is in a better shape than the Jewish and Christian holy books.¹⁹⁸

However, he is oblivious to the fact that there are more critical examinations of the Bible that have been carried out by Western scholars; as a matter of fact most of the methodologies that have been introduced into quranic studies, such as historical critical method, literary criticism, source criticism etc. had previously been employed in the field of biblical studies and raised similar issues regarding the authenticity of the biblical sources.

¹⁹⁵ Muhammad Khalifa, *The Sublime Quran and Orientalism*, 58.

¹⁹⁶ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qur'ānic Text*.

¹⁹⁷ Toby Lester, "What Is the Koran?," *The Atlantic*, January 1999, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1999/01/what-is-the-koran/4024/?single_page=true.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, xv.

Traditional Muslim scholarship in general categorically rejected the idea of employing biblical methodologies on the Qur'ān. They argue that there is no need for such an undertaking as the Qur'ān is completely different from the Bible. They also accused the attempts of Western scholarship to employ biblical methodologies on the Qur'ān as being ill-intentioned. In this regard, Shabbir Akhtar well demonstrates the position of the orthodox Muslim scholars on the employment of biblical methodologies on the Qur'ān:

The Muslim reluctance to develop the discipline of critical Quranic scholarship is mistakenly thought to be connected to religious obscurantism. In fact, there are no materials and no need for such a discipline. The Qur'ān unlike the Bible, is not the heterogeneous work of many hands, in several genres, in a trio of languages, in varied geographical locales, stretching over millennia, surviving only in uncertain and fragmentary forms. It is a unified canon, "revealed" in just over two decades, addressed to man fully known to his contemporaries and to subsequent history... The text has retained perfect purity; a unique version has enjoyed universal currency during the entire history of Islam. I cannot see, barring motives of malice and envy (that should have no place in scholarship), any grounds for developing a critical textual scholarship of the Qur'ān.¹⁹⁹

Further, al-Azami considers the study of the Qur'ān as a merely religious issue. His views regarding the Western scholarship are quite radical as he believes that only Muslims are entitled to study the Qur'ān; Jews, Christians or Atheists have no right to interpret the Qur'ān and should not be taken seriously in their criticism of quranic studies:

Certainly anyone can write on Islam, but only a devout Muslim has the legitimate prerogative to write on Islam and its related subjects. Some may consider this biased, but then who is not? Non followers cannot claim neutrality, for their writings swerve depending on whether Islam's tenets agree or disagree with their personal beliefs, and so any attempts at

¹⁹⁹ Shabbir Akhtar, *The Quran and the Secular Mind: A Philosophy of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2008), 123.

interpretation from Christians, Jews, atheists, or non-practicing Muslims must be unequivocally discarded.²⁰⁰

Al-Azami's methodology is not very sophisticated and similar to that of Khalifa, he relies on quranic verses to answer to the criticism of Western scholars. Aside from this, being a *ḥadīth* expert he relies on traditional Muslim sources written by Ibn Ishāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Saʿd, al-Suyūṭī, Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Ḥanbal. He takes the authenticity of these works for granted and does not make any effort to establish the authenticity of the sources. He simply believes in the impeccability of the traditional methodologies that have been employed by Muslim scholars. Instead he briefly mentions how the traditional *isnād* critique, which has been used to authenticate Islamic sources, operates.²⁰¹

Regarding the collection of the Qurʾān, he merely represents the orthodox Muslim view that the Qurʾān was not collated into a single text at the time of the Prophet by bringing evidence from a tradition attributed to Zayd b. Thābit. The tradition is narrated in the works of Ibn Ḥajar and al-Bukhārī. However, basing on al-Suyūṭī, he argues that the Qurʾān was written down at the time of the Prophet yet it was neither collected into a unified text nor arranged into ordered chapters.²⁰² This was mainly the result of the concept of *naskh* (abrogation): Since the revelation continued until the demise of the Prophet, having a loose copy was more convenient for the Prophet as this enabled him to make necessary changes to the Qurʾān. Once he passed away, his Companions collated what was left from him and produced the official copy.²⁰³ He argues that the Prophet himself did the ordering of the verses of the Qurʾān, and there are many traditions to prove it.²⁰⁴ However, he adds that there might be disagreement regarding the ordering of the chapters.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qurʾānic Text*, 13.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 172–193.

²⁰² Ibid., 77.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 71.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 72.

He further avers that the first person who collected the Qur'ān into a single text was Abū Bakr. In this regard, according to the tradition narrated from Zayd both in al-Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd, upon the encouragement of 'Umar, Abū Bakr ordered Zayd to administer the collection of the Qur'ān:

Narrated by Zayd bin Thābit:

Abū Bakr as-Ṣiddīq sent for me when the people of Yamāma (who were the companions of Muḥammad) had been killed. I found 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb with him. Abū Bakr began, 'Umar has just come to me and said, on the day (of Battle) of Yamāma the casualties were high among the *qurra*' of the Qur'ān, and I fear that there will be more heavy casualties in future wars and as a result a significant part of the Qur'ān will be lost. Hence, I suggest that you should command the Qur'ān be collected'. 'I (Abū Bakr) said to Umar, 'How could you do what the Prophet never did?' 'Umar replied 'by Allah it was a good deed, and he did not cease answering to my doubts until Allah opened my chest for the undertaking, and I realized what Umar had realized (regarding the importance of the collection of the Qur'ān). Then Abū Bakr told me 'Zayd, you are indeed a young and wise man and we have no suspicion about you. You used to write the revelations for the Prophet, and we know nothing to discredit you. So search for the Qur'ān and collate it.' 'By Allah, if they asked me to move a mountain it could not have been heavier than what they requested from me. I asked them how you could do what the Prophet had never done, but Abū Bakr and 'Umar replied that it was a good deed. They did not cease answering to my doubts until Allah opened my chest for the undertaking, as he had opened the chests of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.²⁰⁶

Abū Bakr then set the standards for Zayd, when he was collecting the Qur'ān: 'Abū Bakr told 'Umar and Zayd, to 'Sit at the entrance to the [Prophet's] Mosque. If anyone brings you a verse from the Book of Allāh along with two witnesses, then record it.'²⁰⁷ Abū Bakr collected all the quranic fragments and arranged their

²⁰⁶ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *The Translation of the Meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Arabic-English*, 6th ed., vol. 6 (Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1986), 6–7.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 6:477–478; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *The Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn abī Dāwūd*, ed. Arthur Jeffery (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), 6–7.

transcription into a master volume. This volume is called *ṣuḥuf* due to the unequal sizes of the pages of the volume. Later with the military conquest better parchments became available and ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān was able to make copies with equal size papers. This was later called *muṣḥaf*.²⁰⁸ Although al-Azami gives references to the works of Western scholarship, and tries to give answer to some of their criticism in his own way, he completely ignores the criticism about the reliability of the Muslim sources. He takes for granted that all the Muslim sources that are believed to be authentic by Muslim scholars, are historical facts. Therefore, his arguments remain very flimsy and do not capture the essence of the discussion.

To return to the arguments of al-Azami, he believes that the copy that Abū Bakr collected was an official copy.²⁰⁹ Abū Bakr then passed it to ‘Umar before he died along with the leadership. Al-Azami further discusses the conversation between Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and ‘Uthmān which prompted ‘Uthmān to initiate the collection of the Qur’ān in 25 A.H. for the second time.²¹⁰ According to the tradition Ḥudhayfa, who was in the Azerbaijan and Armenian frontier, had witnessed differences in the pronunciation of the Qur’ān by the people in that area. Upon his return, he gave the account to ‘Uthmān and warned him about the future of Islam: ‘O Caliph, take this *umma* [community] in hand before they differ about their Book like the Christians and Jews.²¹¹ Then ‘Uthmān initiated the collection of the Qur’ān. There are two different narrations regarding the course of action ‘Uthmān took during the process:

1. ‘Uthmān’s copy was not an independent copy and he used Abū Bakr’s copy which had been entrusted to Ḥafṣa by ‘Umar. Hence, it was just a replica of that master copy. This narration according to al-Azami is more famous:

²⁰⁸ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qur’ānic Text*, 85.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 84.

²¹⁰ Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī, *The Translation of the Meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Arabic-English*, 6:478–480.

²¹¹ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qur’ānic Text*, 88.

So ‘Uthmān sent Ḥafṣa a message stating, “Send us the Ṣuḥuf that we may make perfect copies and then return the Ṣuḥuf to you.” Ḥafṣa sent it to ‘Uthmān, who ordered Zayd bin Thābit, ‘Abdullāh bin az-Zubair, Sa‘īd bin al-‘Āṣ and ‘Abdur-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥārith bin Hishām to make duplicate copies. He told the three Quraishī men, “Should you disagree with Zayd bin Thābit on any point regarding the Qur’ān, write it in the dialect of Quraish as the Qur’ān was revealed in their tongue.” They did so, and when they had prepared several copies ‘Uthmān returned the Ṣuḥuf to Ḥafṣa ... ²¹²

2. ‘Uthmān’s copy was a product of independent work and Ḥafṣa’s copy was used just as a reference during the process. Al-Azami states that this narration is less famous:²¹³ According to the traditions, this copy was later checked against ‘Ā’isha’s copy and necessary corrections were made on ‘Uthmān’s copy. ‘Umar b. Shabba, narrating through Sawwār b. Shabīb, reports:

Going to see Ibn az-Zubair in a small group, I asked him why ‘Uthmān destroyed all the old copies of the Qur’ān.... He replied, During ‘Umar’s reign, an excessively talkative man approached the Caliph and told him that the people were differing in their pronunciation of the Qur’ān, ‘Umar resolved therefore to collect all copies of the Qur’ān and standardise their pronunciation, but he suffered that fatal stabbing before he could carry the matter any further. During ‘Uthmān’s reign this same man came to remind him of the issue, so ‘Uthmān commissioned [his independent] Muṣḥaf. Then he sent me to [the Prophet’s widow] ‘Ā’isha to retrieve the parchments upon which the Prophet had dictated the Qur’ān in its entirety. The independently-prepared Muṣḥaf was then checked against these parchments, and after the correction of all errors he ordered that all other copies of the Qur’ān be destroyed.²¹⁴

According to al-Azami the second opinion is more correct; however, he does not inform the reader why he prefers this less famous tradition over the first one. He

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 90–91.

further mentions a tradition in which it is narrated from ‘Ā’isha, the wife of the Prophet, that the *ṣuḥuf* could be used as a reference for putting together the new Qur’ān.²¹⁵

Considering that al-Azami is an expert in the field of *ḥadīth* studies, one would have expected him to be aware of the traditions that register the strong opposition that ‘Uthmān faced from prominent Companions of the Prophet, in relation to his verdict to burn all the other copies of the Qur’ān once his copy became ready. Yet he seems to be ignoring these traditions when stating that ‘the people were pleased with ‘Uthmān's decision; at the very least no one voiced any objections.’²¹⁶ He is selective in his readings of the traditions and thus he even contradicts his own methodology of accepting the traditional Muslim way of assessing the authentication of the traditions: The traditions regarding the objection of the prominent Companions of the Prophet to ‘Uthmān’s decision are also accepted as reliable and mentioned in the canonical books, yet al-Azami does not make any effort to study them.²¹⁷

Furthermore, al-Azami strongly emphasises the significance of oral tradition in order to establish the authenticity of Muslim traditions. He believes oral recording was more important than written recording as Muslims preferred this method. This assertion, however, leads to the question of why, if oral recording was more important, did Muslims pay so much attention to written materials? They could just summon all the *qurra* and put together the most authentic version of the Qur’ān, instead of relying on written texts for which only two Companions had to testify. The reality would therefore oppose al-Azami’s claim as written material was more valuable to the early Muslims.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 90.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 94.

²¹⁷ For a detailed study of the subject and relevant traditions see Sijistānī, ‘Abdallāh ibn Sulaymān. *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*. Edited by Arthur Jeffery. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937.

There is another dilemma in al-Azami's reading of the traditions, which as a matter of fact highlights the contradiction within the Muslim traditions regarding the collection of the Qur'ān. Al-Azami is aware of this and thus tries to reconcile it: If there was a copy belonging to Ḥafṣa, why did 'Uthmān decide to collect an autonomous copy? His answer to the question is that 'Uthmān's endeavour was rather 'symbolic'. He wanted Companions to be involved in such an auspicious undertaking to increase their reward.²¹⁸ However, this explanation is not logical as Muslims put so much effort together for a merely 'symbolic' task.

In his attempt to answer Jeffery's point regarding the variant readings of the Qur'ān, al-Azami categorically denies the existence of a written copy held by Ibn Mas'ūd and instead, he argues that Ibn Mas'ūd was overheard reciting the Qur'ān from his memory.²¹⁹ Having said that, he accepts the existence of the copy belonging to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) but for him Mālik b. Anas reportedly inherited it from his grandfather, Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir al-Aṣḥābī (d. 73/693), who had written it down while he was working on 'Uthmān's official copy. Thus al-Azami concludes that there were no other copies of the Qur'ān before Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān commissioned the codification of the Qur'ān.²²⁰

It is difficult to understand why al-Azami is at such great pains to denounce the existence of other copies of the Qur'ān despite existing traditions. He is adamant to 'prove' that only Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān undertook such a task and perhaps is under the assumption that accepting the existence of other copies kept by some of the Companions might discredit the official story. Even this attempt by al-Azami demonstrates that orthodox Muslim scholarship is very careful to preserve the official accounts of the events.

²¹⁸ Muhammad Mustafa al-Azami, *The History of the Qur'ānic Text*, 93.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 195.

²²⁰ Ibid., 100–101.

Among the traditional Muslim scholars that we have come across, only Doi²²¹ accepts the existence of the unofficial copies of the Qur'ān as he states that there were four editions of the Qur'ān which held authority in the different provinces of the Muslim land. Referring to a tradition narrated by Ibn al-Athīr, Doi states that 'Ubay b. Ka'b's copy was used in Damascus, Miqdād b. 'Amr's copy was used in Ḥims, 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd's copy was used in Kūfa and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ārī's copy was used in al-Baṣra. However, he goes on to say that these copies gradually disappeared after the genesis of the official Uthmanic codex.²²² He consequently ignores other narrations which state that after the formation of the Uthmanic codex, all the other copies of the Qur'ān were burned by the decree of the Caliph 'Uthmān.

One of the most ambitious attempts to respond to the criticism of Western scholarship on the history of the Qur'ān was undertaken by Muhammad Mohar Ali in his piece entitled 'The Qur'ān and the Latest Orientalist Assumptions'. Similar to al-Azami, his point of departure is Tony Lester's article and he tries to address the issues raised by him. He believes that the critiques of Western scholarship are religiously motivated and ill-intentioned as they want 'to bring the Qur'ān down at least to the level of the Bible, which the modern Christians hold as a text that is "inspired" by God but written by human beings.'²²³

In order to achieve this, Mohar Ali argues that Western scholars employs two main strategies: textual criticism and questioning the authenticity of the early Islamic sources, especially the *ḥadīth* literature.²²⁴ Similar to other orthodox scholars, in order to refute the 'assumptions' of the Western scholarship, he refers to the quranic verses that mentions similar allegations directed against the Qur'ān and Muḥammad by polytheist Meccans of the time.

²²¹ A. Rahman I. Doi, *Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Sevenoaks: Arewa, 1981).

²²² Ibid., 3.

²²³ Muhammad Mohar Ali, "The Qur'ān and The Latest Orientalist Assumptions" (Jam'iat Ihya Minhaaj al-Sunnah, 2003) <http://afi.org.uk/Orient/1%20Contents.html>.

²²⁴ Ibid.

After his initial evaluation of Lester's article, Mohar Ali points out an important flaw in the theory of evolution of the quranic text, according to which the present copy of the Qur'ān is a result of an evolution process and reached its final format after centuries of contribution by Muslims. He points out that there are several issues with this argument as supporters of this thesis fail to provide any evidence to back up their claim, or to mention specific date(s) in which the prior copies came into existence. There is also no information about the author(s) of these copies. For him the most important flaw in similar arguments is that they have so far failed to show that those alleged early copies 'have been accepted and acted upon by the religious community in question at a particular period of time,'²²⁵ Mohar Ali makes a strong point which was missing from the discussions of other Muslim scholars, but he is not consistent in his arguments.

He then moves on to answer the arguments that were held by some Western scholarship. He discusses Crone and Cook's arguments in *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*. In his reply to their criticism of the historicity of the Qur'ān which stems from the conviction about the unreliability of the Islamic sources, Mohar Ali states that such arguments are very weak. He only says that this view is marginal among the Western academia and that some other Western scholars such as Watt oppose this point of view and do not dispute the reliability of the great corpus of Islamic sources. Although he might have a point here this argument itself is not enough to refute the theses of *Hagarism*.

Mohar Ali further disagrees with Watt on the issue of 'alleged informants'. Based on some Muslim traditions, Watt had argued that people like Waraqa b. Nawfal and some others had read the Bible in Syriac and then taught it to the Prophet. For Mohar Ali this assumption is 'unreasonable', albeit his acceptance of the existent relevant traditions that Watt made use of. He does not provide any logical argument that may legitimise his assertion. The only argument he produces is to point out

²²⁵ Mohar Ali, "The Qur'ān and The Latest Orientalist Assumptions."

some relevant quranic verses,²²⁶ but this cannot be acceptable on the ground that it is a circular argument.

Mohar Ali further sums up the assumptions of the orientalists on the Qur'ān as follows:

(1) The circumstantial or environmental influence of Christianity and Judaism; (2) The alleged specific instances of Muḥammad's (p.b.h.) contact with particular Christian individuals; (3) The supposed Qur'ānic evidence about his informant or informants; (4) The supposed gradual growth in accuracy in the Qur'ān's narration of biblical stories.²²⁷

He then takes on these assumptions one by one. In terms of the influence of Christianity and Judaism on the Qur'ān, Mohar Ali points out there are inconsistencies in these arguments:

the inherent weakness and inconsistency in the orientalist's approach lies in the fact that they suggest, on the one hand, that the Prophet was ambitious and therefore careful enough to avoid the political implications of embracing either Judaism or Christianity, and on the other, that he was careless enough to proceed to found a new religion by picking up information from bazaar gossips and Jewish story tellers at a wine shop!²²⁸

Mohar Ali acknowledges that Muḥammad had knowledge about the tenets of Judaism and Christianity; however, for him this is very normal as similar to Islam these religions were monotheistic religions. This does not mean that these religions influenced Islam.²²⁹ He further argues that the Qur'ān never introduces Islam as a new religion; rather it has claimed to revive the previous monotheistic religions. Further, the Qur'ān strongly condemns polytheistic practices of Judaism and Christianity. If the Prophet were to follow merely the teachings of Judaism and Christianity, Qur'ān would not have condemned these religions. Thus, he asserts

²²⁶ Mohar Ali, "The Qur'ān and the Latest Orientalist Assumptions," 18.

²²⁷ Ibid., 32.

²²⁸ Ibid., 34.

²²⁹ Ibid.

that these are the two important points through which the Qur'ān falsifies the claims of the Orientalists.²³⁰

In terms of the issue of monotheist informants who have allegedly taught Muḥammad about Judaism and Christianity, he contests the views of Watt and Torrey. He argues that their opinion is based on the quranic verses 16:103 and 25:4-5 which mention the polytheists' allegation against Muḥammad that a person (instead of God) taught him the Qur'ān. Mohar Ali revisits the verses and finds that the Qur'ān denies the allegation rather than alluding that Muḥammad had teachers, and hence concludes that Western Scholarship misinterpreted the verses as it has a completely opposite meaning than what they suggest.²³¹

Mohar Ali challenges the allegation about the accuracy of biblical stories in the Qur'ān through using 'logical' arguments and mentioning some of the verses of the Qur'ān. He also points out the additional details in the Qur'ān about these stories in order to argue that the Qur'ān is not simply copying them from the Bible. Although his revisiting of the verses related to the issue makes sense to a certain extent, he seems to be unaware of the counter argument²³² raised by some of the Western scholars that Muḥammad was in touch with unorthodox Christian groups and his knowledge about the biblical stories came through them. Therefore, the Qur'ān contains some details about these stories that are unknown to the followers of mainstream Christianity and Judaism.

Some other Muslim scholars like Haleem,²³³ tried to deal with the criticism on the style of the Qur'ān. In this regard in his work entitled *Understanding the Qur'ān: Themes and Style*, after giving the traditional narration of the history of the text of the Qur'ān, Haleem assesses Nöldeke's judgement regarding the style of the Qur'ān, which maintains that the grammatical shifts in person are abrupt and not in a

²³⁰ Ibid., 35.

²³¹ Ibid., 40–41.

²³² See previous chapter

²³³ M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, *Understanding the Qur'ān: Themes and Style* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999).

beautiful way. Haleem asserts that this is Nöldeke's personal opinion and does not reflect the reality. He then mentions the opinions of the Arab scholars on the issue in order to prove that the grammatical shifts in the Qur'ān occur in a systematic way and that the style of the Qur'ān is thought to be remarkable by the Muslim scholarship.²³⁴ He then tries to establish that this style is not exclusive to the Qur'ān and is used in the wider Arabic literature under the concept of *iltifāt* (transition).²³⁵ Therefore, it has been used in pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Arabia. His main point is that the Qur'ān is not a literary book and consequently its style is not in book format. Instead it is the 'word of God' and thus it is in speech format; therefore employment of *iltifāt* or sudden shifts of pronouns and other ostensible grammatical irregularities are part of the general characteristics of oral tradition in the Arabic language.

Hamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930), an Indian scholar, had a different view from the traditional Sunni scholars on the collection of the Qur'ān. Shehzad Saleem, in his PhD thesis entitled *Collection of the Qur'ān: A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī's View*, explains al-Farāhī's unorthodox view on the collation of the Qur'ān and tries to further strengthen al-Farāhī's argument by examining the relevant traditions.

Basing on quranic verse 75:16-19, al-Farāhī argues that it is Muḥammad who under the instruction of God collated the Qur'ān between two covers:

[O Prophet!] Do not move your tongue to hastily acquire this [Qur'ān].
Indeed, upon Us is its collection and recital. So when We have recited it,
follow this recital. Then upon Us is to explain it.

The Arabic word *jam* ' is crucial in the verse as it has the meaning of 'collection'; thus according to al-Farāhī it is clear that the Qur'ān must have been collated during

²³⁴ Ibid., 184.

²³⁵ Ibid., 185–188.

the lifetime of the Prophet.²³⁶ He mentions some other verses of the Qur'ān²³⁷ to reinforce his argument, which was quoted by Saleem:

First²³⁸, the Qur'ān was collected and arranged in the lifetime of the Prophet and recited out to him in a specific sequence. If this promise was to be fulfilled after his death, he would not have been asked to follow this new recital [referred to by the words: 'so when We have recited it out, follow this recital']. **Second**, the Prophet was directed to read according to this second recital that took place after this arrangement of the Qur'ān [in its new final sequence]. It is against sense and reason that he be divinely revealed something and then he not communicate it to the *ummah*. And also when the following words of the Qur'ān: '[O Prophet!] Communicate what has been revealed to you; if you do not do so, you would not have discharged your responsibility as a prophet,' (5:67) constitute a general directive, it is essential that the Prophet must have communicated the final recital of the Qur'ān in the way it was found in the guarded tablet (the *lawḥ al-maḥfūz*). This is because the final recital had to match the original recital [found in the tablet]. **Third**, after this collection and arrangement, the Almighty explained whatever He intended to from among specifying a general directive or vice versa (*al-ta'mīm wa al-takhṣīs*), furnishing supplementary directives (*al-takmīl*) and reducing the extent of application of some directives (*al-takhfīf*).²³⁹

However, his view is not supported by historical events and is merely based on the exegesis of some of the verses of the Qur'ān. This causes a serious dilemma for the thesis as various scholars have interpreted the same verses differently. Further, there are a number of Muslim traditions that strongly suggest that the Qur'ān was collated during the rule of the first four Muslim caliphs. Saleem is aware of the situation, and in order to tackle it, employs a traditional *matn* and *isnād* analysis of the traditions that report the Qur'ān was collated by the four caliphs. His work

²³⁶ Shehzad Saleem, "Collection of the Qur'ān: A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī's View" (University of Wales Lampeter, 2010), 32.

²³⁷ Q. 25:32; 76:23-26; 20:113-4

²³⁸ Bolds are from the original text.

²³⁹ Saleem, "Collection of the Qur'ān: A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī's View," 36.

primarily aims at discrediting these traditions and consequently giving al-Farāhī's work more historical credibility.

In this regard, Saleem's method seems to be quite similar to that of John Burton, who goes through all the traditions related to the subject and points out their ostensible shortcomings. Then Saleem reaches the 'logical' conclusion that it was Muḥammad who collected the Qur'ān between two covers in his lifetime. In addition, Saleem refers to renowned Shī'ite scholar Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, who has a similar opinion on the subject. Al-Khū'ī is known for his rigid method in assessing the traditions; as a result of his assessment of the relevant traditions, he finds them unreliable and concludes that the Prophet himself must have collected the Qur'ān.²⁴⁰ His opinions will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

However, since Saleem's method is similar to Burton, he would also be a target of the criticism directed towards Burton, which was discussed in the previous chapter. To sum up, Saleem is not proving that the Qur'ān was collected at the time of the Prophet but rather tries to disprove that the caliphs collected it and jumps to the conclusion that if the first four caliphs did not collate the Qur'ān into a single text then it must be Muḥammad who did. It is disputable whether he succeeds in discrediting these traditions but even if he does, this method does not justify the theory that the Prophet collated the Qur'ān. Especially considering the arguments of the Western scholarship, it perhaps gives more credibility to their argument that the Qur'ān is not an authentic book dictated by Muḥammad.

Arguing historicity of the Qur'ān

Indeed, the Muslim response to Western academia has not been limited to traditional Muslim scholarship. Modern Muslim scholars who employed arguments and methodologies that might be acceptable in the academia have also tried to

²⁴⁰ Al-Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Mūsāwī al-Khū'ī, "The Collection of the Qur'an," accessed August 28, 2010, http://www.quran.org.uk/articles/jeb_quran_collection.htm.

counter the critics by employing stronger arguments. Fazlur Rahman,²⁴¹ is a foremost of example of these scholars who mostly took on the Wansbrough school. In his several works he points out the methodological shortcomings and inconsistencies of Western scholarship in assessing the historicity of the Qur'ān, and offers some explanations for some of the concepts that he believes to be misunderstood.

His primary opposition to the methodology of the Wansbrough schools is their disregard for the historical data or Muslim sources.²⁴² In Rahman's view this is done deliberately to pave the way for Wansbrough's methodology of literary criticism. He argues that since Wansbrough ignores the historical data, he often makes 'vague generalizations' in his examination of the quranic verses to demonstrate the 'indirect style' of the Qur'ān, which is used by Wansbrough to establish the Judaic roots of the Qur'ān. However, for Rahman this kind of approach is wrong as the Qur'ān uses the same style for narrating some significant events from Arab history and even for contemporary characters. Hence, it is an issue of style as the Qur'ān mostly prefers to not mention names, 'but refers to them and events connected with them only indirectly.'²⁴³

For Rahman the weakness of Wansbrough's methodology of literary criticism becomes more apparent in his treatment of quranic concepts. One of the examples Rahman points out is Wansbrough's handling of the word 'reminder' (*dhikr*). Rahman argues that since Wansbrough disregards Muslim sources completely, he does not make the correct judgement in the usage of the term: He wrongly assumes that the word has been used in the Qur'ān in the meaning of 'miracle'. However, Rahman argues that the word has never been used in this meaning in the Qur'ān 'it rather refers to a phenomenon frequently mentioned in the Qur'ān, namely, that many Arabs, on the eve of Islam, were in search of a new divine dispensation in order to

²⁴¹ Fazlur Rahman, "Some Recent Books on the Qur'ān by Western Authors," *The Journal of Religion* 64, no. 1 (January 1, 1984): 73–95.

²⁴² Ibid., 86.

²⁴³ Ibid., 87.

believe in, rather than believe in Jewish and Christian creeds to which they were often invited.²⁴⁴

As for the concept of miracle, if the verses are examined in the chronological order it becomes evident that Qur'ān's reference to miracle is limited to when the accounts of the previous prophets are given. Further, various verses of the Qur'ān consider miracles to be ineffective as they had not changed the minds of those nations. According to Rahman, Wansbrough due to his methodological shortcomings fails to take on board this phenomenon.²⁴⁵

Further, Wansbrough fails to answer many questions in presenting his method and theory about the Qur'ān. For example in his examination of the story of the Prophet Shu'ayb, in order to make his point that the Qur'ān is not a book of Muḥammad only but consists of 'different traditions' which were inserted into the text by different authors, Wansbrough asserts that the repetitious character of the Qur'ān is the chief evidence of this. As the story was mentioned in three different places (Q.7: 85-93, 11: 84-95 and 26:176-190) in the Qur'ān, Wansbrough considers these stories 'in three complete versions'.²⁴⁶

However, Rahman comes up with two arguments that are formulated in questions to counter Wansbrough: (1) Why should we regard the mentioning of a story in various places of the Qur'ān as different versions of the story and (2) if we accept Wansbrough's claim then who is the source of these different versions? He points out the fact that Wansbrough does not mention specific author(s) who put together these different versions, or other sections of the Qur'ān. Finally, Rahman criticises Wansbrough's selective usage of Islamic sources i.e. when it supports his thesis he

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 21.

does not hesitate to make use of Islamic material, thus contradicting his own methodology.²⁴⁷

These arguments indeed make sense and to a certain extent pose serious challenge to Wansbrough's arguments and method. However, Rahman's citation of a quranic verse (Q.29: 48) weakens his argument as he uses the Qur'ān to refute Wansbrough's thesis, disregarding Wansbrough's denial of the Qur'ān as the work of Muḥammad. Further, in his book entitled *Major Themes in the Qur'ān*, Rahman gives an example of Wansbrough's 'methodological failures'. In his discussion of the words *baqīya*, *bāqīya*, and *bāqiyun* (Rahman mentions the grammatical mistake that Wansbrough made in the last word as its correct form is *bāqūn*), Rahman argues that words have been used in completely different meanings and unlike what Wansbrough argued in his book *The Qur'ānic Studies*, they have no proximity to the Jewish doctrine of the 'remnant' in the Old Testament'.²⁴⁸

Rahman states that there is one verse in the Qur'ān, in which a word might have been used in the meaning of 'remnant'. The verse (Q.37: 77) says 'We made his (Noah's) progeny to survive him,' yet for Rahman here the meaning of survive refers not to Noah's physical progeny but his followers.²⁴⁹ Rahman provides his interpretation for Q. 11:46, which informs us that Noah's son was also killed in the deluge. Rahman's aim is to show that Wansbrough is making a mistake by trying to establish Judaic influence on the Qur'ān as he overstretches the meaning of the word to make his point.

To a certain extent Rahman achieves his objective as it is wrong for Wansbrough to base his argument on only one verse. Yet, it seems Rahman's argument also has certain flaws; he overstretches the interpretation of the verse by going against the literal meaning of the word without a valid reason and claims that it does not refer

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

to 'Noah's physical progeny but his ideological followers'. Rahman seems to be forgetting that he is dealing with someone who believes in literary analysis of the Qur'ān, as he is answering him with metaphorical explanations, which would not be a convincing argument for Wansbrough. Further, Rahman's argument could potentially strengthen Wansbrough's position as the verse seemingly contradicts verse Q. 11:46: if his son is dead how could Noah's progeny survive? Rahman's suggestion that the word is used metaphorically to allude to followers of Noah instead of his descendants is not a plausible argument and does not provide a satisfying answer. There might have been other sons of Noah, or daughters on the ship through which his progeny could continue - as in the case of Muḥammad whose progeny continued through his daughter Fāṭima.

Rahman is also critical of the arguments of Andrew Rippin who further expanded the thesis of Wansbrough. He is bitter about Rippin's argument about the 'non-historicity of Islam'. As we have mentioned in the previous chapter Rippin argues that due to lack of archaeological data, Islam cannot be treated as a religion in history. Thus, Rippin similar to Wansbrough believes that the Qur'ān must be studied as a subject matter of literary analysis. Rahman does not accept this argument since he believes that there is enough genuine Islamic historical material available to prove Rippin is 'wrong'.²⁵⁰

He also opposes Rippin's assertion that his and Wansbrough's approach to the Islamic material is not new as previous scholars such as Goldziher and Schacht were the first scholars to approach Islamic sources sceptically in their studies of *ḥadīth*. Rahman notes that in fact, Goldziher and Schacht's approach to the Islamic studies diametrically opposes the studies of Wansbrough and Rippin as the former relies on the study of Muslim sources to conduct their studies. For Rahman, dismissing the historical method and relying on merely literary analysis of the Qur'ān disregards the context of the Qur'ān, thus turning it into an unintelligible book: 'The greatest

²⁵⁰ Fazlur Rahman, "Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies: Review Essay," in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oneworld, 2001), 198.

consequence of giving up on history so easily is that the upholders of the literary method cannot seem to make sense of the Qur'ān.'²⁵¹

In addition, he believes literary analysis is an arbitrary methodology, and provides evidence for this from Wansbrough's work. Wansbrough points out four major quranic themes as characteristic of Jewish prophetic literature: 'retribution', 'sign', 'exile' and 'covenant'. These themes also represent the most noticeable themes of the Qur'ān. Rahman poses a crucial question regarding Wansbrough's selection criteria: 'On what basis has Wansbrough selected these four topics as being of salient importance to the Qur'ān?'.²⁵² For Rahman his selection is arbitrary as neither Muslim scholarship nor Western scholarship considers these themes as being of salient importance.

As opposed to traditional Muslim scholarship, Rahman makes considerable effort to deal with the criticism of the Western scholarship and express his arguments in a way that would be acceptable in Western academia. In general his efforts bear fruit and he comes out in defence of the usage of Muslim sources in examining the history of the Qur'ān with some convincing arguments. However, his chief shortcoming is that he does not provide an alternative way to study Muslim sources. He only criticises the methods of Wansbrough and some other Western scholars but does not provide any alternative method by which scholars of Islam can overcome existing difficulties in their quest to study Muslim sources.

Use of archaeological data

As was mentioned above, one of the factors which prompted Wansbrough and Rippin to employ literary methodologies and Crone and Cook to resort to external sources has been the lack of archaeological data about Islam. Hence some Muslim

²⁵¹ Ibid., 199.

²⁵² Ibid., 200.

scholars tried to prove them wrong by demonstrating the availability of archaeological data.

In this regard, Rizwi Faizer examined the quranic inscriptions engraved on the Dome of Rock in Jerusalem. Faizer, by emphasising the historical implications of the quranic inscriptions on the Dome of Rock (or *Qubbat al-Sakhrā*), aims to take on Wansbrough and Bell's theories that the Qur'ān came into existence two hundred years after Muḥammad and the Judeo-Christian origins of Islam. The inscriptions that contained some quotations from quranic verses are dated back to 692 AD and were made during the era of Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. They are considered the earliest archaeological data about the Qur'ān. In his study of the inscriptions and their content, Faizer asserts that although the inscriptions are not the exact quotations from the present text of the Qur'ān, most of the content, especially the inner inscriptions, exists in the present copy of the Qur'ān.²⁵³

He then concludes that they 'clearly indicate' the existence of the Qur'ān and Islam as an independent religion from the very early times. The evidence indicates that at the time, Islam had a different understanding of various concepts; especially the position of Christ is significantly different than in Christianity:

They proclaim not only a belief in one God and His prophet Muḥammad, but also a very distinct position regarding the nature of Christ which is no longer emphasized by Muslims today. Indeed, by asserting that Jesus was a Messenger of God, Islam distinguished itself from both Judaism and Christianity.²⁵⁴

These inscriptions, the author argues, refute Wansbrough's theory about the formation of the Qur'ān as they were made in the first century. However, some

²⁵³ Rizwi Faizer, "The Dome of the Rock and the Qur'ān," in *Coming to Terms with the Qur'an: A Volume in Honor of Professor Issa Boullata, McGill University*, ed. Khaleel Mohammed and Andrew Rippin (North Haledon, N.J: Islamic Publications International, 2008), 93.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 84–85.

Western scholars such as Patricia Crone and Michael Cook raised questions about the authenticity of the inscriptions:

the types of minor variations mentioned, juxtapositions of disparate passages, conflation, shift of person, and occasional omission of brief phrases,' led them to doubt the value of the inscriptions as an 'evidence for "literary form" of the text as a whole at that early date.²⁵⁵

Whelan launched a counter argument by stating:

Closer scrutiny of the two copper plaques suggests that the question is not one of "extensive deviance"; rather, one inscription is not primarily Qur'ānic in character, and the other is a combination of Qur'ānic fragments and paraphrases that makes sense only as a manipulation of recognized standard text.²⁵⁶

She further argued that: 'The copper inscriptions do not appear to represent "deviations" from the current standard text; rather, they belong to a tradition of using quranic and other familiar phrases, paraphrases and allusions in persuasive messages, in fact sermons, whether actual *khutbahs* or not.'²⁵⁷

Although the inscriptions are similar to the quranic verses and perhaps influenced by the Qur'ān, the fact that they are not identical copies of the quranic verses makes it difficult to produce them as decisive evidence for the existence of the Qur'ān in the first century. In this regard, the quranic manuscripts discovered in Ṣan'ā' would have potentially open a more complicated debate on the use of archaeological evidence to establish historicity of the Qur'ān; however, lack of access to the manuscripts at had been a major obstacle in the quest for reliable information about them.

²⁵⁵ Estelle Whelan, "Forgotten Witness: Evidence for the Early Codification of the Qur'ān," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118, no. 1 (March 1998): 6.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

Nevertheless, a breakthrough has been achieved with the recent the study of the Şan‘ā’ 1 manuscript. In their groundbreaking study, Behnam Sadeghi and Mohsen Goudarzi published edited folios of it.²⁵⁸ The study follows the footsteps of Yasin Dutton’s work²⁵⁹ which examines three folios of the Qur’ān. The analysis of the method shows that the folios belong to the same manuscript and according to the radiocarbon method they can be dated back to the Umayyad period. The analysis of the folios further suggests that the manuscript was written according to the Meccan style and therefore originates from Mecca.²⁶⁰ Although Dutton’s study does not reach a definite conclusion, it paves the way for Sadeghi and Goudarzi’s research in terms of applying radiocarbon and textual analysis to the Şan‘ā’ parchments.

It had earlier been discovered that Şan‘ā’ parchments, in addition to the actual writings, also contained a second layer of writings (or lower writings) which had been previously erased from the parchments.²⁶¹ The lower writings were thought to represent the earliest non-standard recension of the Qur’ān. Through X-Ray fluorescence imaging of the four folios, the study recovered the lower writing. Then through implementation of the radiocarbon dating method, the study dated the parchments to the period between AD 614 and AD 656 with 68% probability. Further, the study also found that there is a 95% probability that they ‘belong to the period between AD 578 and AD 669.’²⁶² Based on this finding the authors concluded that ‘It is highly probable therefore, that the Şan‘ā’ 1 manuscript was produced no more than 15 years after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad.’²⁶³

²⁵⁸ Behnam Sadeghi and Mohsen Goudarzi, “Şan‘ā’ 1 and the Origins of the Qur’ān : Der Islam,” *Der Islam* 87, no. 1–2 (March 2012): 1–129, doi:10.1515/islam-2011-0025.

²⁵⁹ Yasin Dutton, “An Umayyad Fragment of the Qur’an and Its Dating,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 9, no. 2 (January 1, 2007): 57–87.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁶¹ Behnam Sadeghi and Uwe Bergmann, “The Codex of a Companion of the Prophet and the Qurān of the Prophet,” *Arabica* 57, no. 4 (January 1, 2010): 343–436, doi:10.1163/157005810X504518.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 348.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 358.

The radiocarbon dating method can determine the approximate date of slaughter of the animal from which the parchment is produced. The method cannot determine when the actual writing took place and this seems to result in a flaw in the argument, but Sadeghi and Bergmann are reasonably confident that the date of the parchment gives the approximate date of the lower writing as they believe that it is unlikely that the parchment is significantly older than the writing. They argue that parchments were rare and expensive during the early period of Islam and it is very likely that the animals were slaughtered for a specific purpose, in this case to be used for writing the Qur'ān.²⁶⁴ A later study²⁶⁵ of all the palimpsests provided an even more groundbreaking result. Both the radiocarbon dating method and textual analysis of the different layers provided an earlier date. The radiocarbon method implemented on the parchments found that the lower codex is from 'the period before AD 671 with a probability of 99% (before 661 with the probability of 95.5%, and before 646 with a probability of 75%)'.²⁶⁶ This discovery of the lower text is particularly important for the research since it is, along with the Uthmanic codex, the earliest known extant copy of the Qur'ān.²⁶⁷ And a tentative textual analysis, based on comparison of the lower layer (or C1), the Uthmanic codex and the companion codices, brought the date earlier on the basis that the comparison indicates the lower layer is older than the Uthmanic codex.²⁶⁸ Thus, the authors argued that the text of the Qur'ān can be dated to as early as the Prophet's lifetime and that he himself standardised the Qur'ān:

'Uthmān was charged with the task of standardizing the Qur'ān. Some other early reports however indicate that this was done already by the Prophet himself. This last view is now found to be better supported. It follows from the fact that the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān, C-1, and the Companion codices

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 354.

²⁶⁵ Sadeghi and Bergmann, "The Codex of a Companion of the Prophet and the Qurān of the Prophet."

²⁶⁶ Sadeghi and Goudarzi, "Ṣan'ā' 1 and the Origins of the Qur'ān," 8.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ For a succinct summary of the argument see: Sinai, Nicolai. "When Did the Consonantal Skeleton of the Quran Reach Closure? Part II." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 03 (October 2014): 509–21. doi:10.1017/S0041977X14000111.

generally have the same passages within the sūras, that the sūras were fixed before these various textual traditions branched off, in particular before the spread of the ‘Uthmānic version. With only a few exceptions, the differences among the codices are at the level of morphemes, words, and phrases – not at the level of sentences or verses.²⁶⁹

The authors argue that a second conclusion may be derived from the study: based on the ‘evidence’ the traditions that attribute the collection of the Qur’ān to ‘Uthmān are inaccurate.²⁷⁰ Indeed the finding is very significant as it provides very strong scientific evidence regarding the date of canonisation of the quranic codex. However, the study is not immune to criticism. In this regard, Deroche²⁷¹ raised doubts regarding Sadeghi and Bergmann’s conclusions about the dating of the Ṣan‘ā’ manuscripts. Based on a study of two early copies of the Qur’ān Deroche stated that the method may not be very accurate as it failed to date these copies precisely; for one copy it gave a date 54 years different than the actual date of the copy and the second copy was dated at 116 years earlier than the actual date of the copy.²⁷² For Deroche, the inaccuracy of the radiocarbon method in dating Quranic manuscripts became evident when two samples from the Ṣan‘ā’ palimpsests were dated using the method: ‘According to the laboratory, one folio was produced between 543 and 643AD whereas the other one was made between 433 and 599AD.’

Does this mean that the palimpsest existed even before the Prophet? Deroche’s answer is different: The reason for the inaccuracy in dating the palimpsests is the dry climate of the Arabian Peninsula, which affects the animals that were used for making the parchment.²⁷³ As a result he concludes that one should be cautious before reaching a conclusion based only on the carbon dating method of the palimpsests.

²⁶⁹ Sadeghi and Goudarzi, “Ṣan‘ā’ 1 and the Origins of the Qur’ān,” 13.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 23.

²⁷¹ François Deroche, *Qur’ans of the Umayyads: A First Overview* (Paris: Brill, 2013).

²⁷² Ibid., 12–13.

²⁷³ Ibid., 13.

In response to Deroche's criticism, Sadeghi posted a Facebook group communication²⁷⁴ and addressed the points Deroche raised regarding the reliability of the radiocarbon method. Sadeghi stated that the laboratory that Deroche used to implement the method on the samples is the cause of the inaccuracy of his results. He is adamant that the Lyon-based laboratory 'botched the job'.²⁷⁵ In his study of the documents he used 'the most reliable' places such as Oxford University, University of Arizona, and ETH at Zurich, and thus their findings are more accurate. Sadeghi further argues that Deroche's argument that the dry climate is not suitable for the method is not based on scientific evidence. Deroche claims that he acquired the information from some scientists, but in return Sadeghi states that he inquired about this claim by asking scientists specialised on the C14 method and they dismissed it saying it is a rumour.²⁷⁶ Having said that, Sadeghi also does not state who these 'specialized scientists' are who informed him about this.

Concluding comments

This chapter has shown that Muslims scholars have by and large adopted three approaches by which they contributed to the debate: Reasserting religious arguments by using a traditional Muslim method, criticising Western scholars' arguments/methods without providing an alternative argument/method, and finally in the light of new discoveries of quranic manuscripts, adopting the implementation of both the radiocarbon and text analysis methods. Among these methods, the first group tried to counter Western scholars' argument through revisiting Muslim sources and reinforcing the reliability of traditional Muslim sources. They mostly did not produce new arguments and methods to support the traditional Muslim position on the issue, thus failing in their attempt to address the criticism of the early Muslim sources. A more promising approach came from Muslim modernist Fazlur Rahman, who developed stronger arguments against the criticism of the early Muslim sources

²⁷⁴ Behnam Sadeghi, "Observations on Sanaa," Facebook Group, *Qur'anic Studies*, (December 2014).

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 2.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 4.

by pointing out methodological flaws in these arguments. However, refuting opponents' arguments (to a certain extent) is not enough to provide answers about the early history of Islam. Scholars, aside from producing sustainable arguments to support their stance, must work on reliable and enduring methods to provide alternative ways to deal with the problem. For this reason, Fazlur Rahman's approach fell short of achieving its goal.

As a result, the last group, consisting of Dutton, Sadeghi and Goudarzi has certainly provided the most valuable contribution to the ongoing debate regarding the history of the Qur'ān. Their examination of the early quranic palimpsests according to radiocarbon and text analysis methods made a major impact in the field of quranic studies. Their pioneering work filled the important methodology gap in the field by providing a scientific method that is based on the study of Muslim sources (quranic palimpsests). As we have seen in the First Chapter, the dominant view among Western scholars has been the lack of trust in the early Muslim sources, which led them to search out alternative sources for studying the early history of Islam, including the history of the Qur'ān. Dutton, Sadeghi and Goudarzi have changed this perception by attesting that scholars can carry out scientific studies using Muslim sources.

However, one needs to acknowledge that there are some drawbacks in the study. Based on the initial examination of the palimpsests, Sadeghi and Goudarzi argued that since the palimpsests can be dated back to the lifetime of the Prophet, he himself must have collated the Qur'ān and, therefore, the traditions that attribute the collection of the Qur'ān to 'Uthmān are inaccurate. Such a conclusion is too hasty as they reach it without a thorough study of the texts of all the palimpsests. Further, in order to reach such a conclusion they should have first established that the palimpsests are part of a complete codex.

Otherwise, provided that the dating of the palimpsests is correct, it is possible to argue that the palimpsests were Muslim scribes' early recordings of the Qur'ān. Muslim traditions state that Prophet during his lifetime dictated the verses of the

Qur'ān and scribes recorded them on loose papers as well as other material, which were collated into unified codices after the Prophet's death. In addition, Sadeghi and Goudarzi should have elucidated their claim that the traditions that attribute the collection of the Qur'ān to 'Uthmān are inaccurate. Do they mean that these traditions were forged? If so, who did it and what was their motivation? Sadeghi and Goudarzi do not elaborate on these points. Therefore, their conclusion regarding Muslim traditions may not be justified, at least in this tentative stage of their research.

Therefore, I conclude that despite significant developments in the study of the history of the text of the Qur'ān, there are still some methodological issues that need to be resolved. Further, these developments are taking place at the cost of the exclusion of Muslim traditions; therefore, they seem to usher the field into another debate: usage of archaeological data versus Muslim traditions. At this juncture, the study of Shī'ite traditions on the issue may provide a very useful contribution to the field. Both Western and Muslim scholars have left Shī'ite sources out of the debate; thus examining them would provide a different perspective regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān. Perhaps in the light of the recent developments and by studying the Shī'ite view, scholars in the field will be able to compare new studies that are based on different methods to elucidating the history of the Qur'ān, inevitably leading to a clearer perspective. Having said that, the author of this thesis has no ambition to reach absolute conclusions regarding the Shī'ite view on the issue. Considering the dearth of studies on the subject, this thesis aims to provide an initial exploration of the subject which will perhaps attract other scholars' attention.

CHAPTER THREE

SHĪ'ITE APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN

Denial of Judeo-Christian influence on the Qur'ān

Western scholars have paid very little attention to the Shī'ite point of view on the history of the compilation of the Qur'ān. In their limited works on the Shī'ite sect, the main focus of Western academia has been the claims of some peripheral Shī'ite groups and scholars regarding the distortion (*tahrīf*) of the Qur'ān. Aside from this almost nothing has been mentioned about the Shī'ite perspective on the issue.²⁷⁷

The only notable attempt to study Shī'ite²⁷⁸ sources was made by Friedrich Schwally in the 2nd edition of *Geschichte des Qorāns* by Theodor Nöldeke. The work was translated into the English language in 2012 under the title *The History of the Qur'ān*.²⁷⁹ In the book Schwally presents his point of view regarding the Shī'ite claim about 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib's collection of the Qur'ān. In his treatment of the subject Schwally refers to three sources: Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist* and al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān*. Basing on the information provided in these works he divides the Shī'ite claim about 'Alī's codex into two groups: According to the first group 'Alī undertook the collection of the Qur'ān during the lifetime of Muḥammad and according to the second group he collected the Qur'ān after the demise of the Prophet. After his brief study of these traditions, without quoting the original traditions, he passes rather a quick judgement about 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān:

²⁷⁷ For a detailed study see Winters, Jonah. "Shī'i Qur'ān: An Examination of Western Scholarship." *Bahā'ī Library Online*, 1997. http://bahai-library.com/winters_shii_quran. [accessed on 7 March 2013]

²⁷⁸ For an analysis of the perception of Western and Shī'ite scholars on the subject see, B. Todd Lawson. "Note for the Study of a 'Shī'i Qur'ān'." *Journal of Semitic Studies* no. XXXVI/2 (Autumn 1991); Joseph Eliash. "The Shī'ite Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Goldziher's Interpretation." *Arabica Revue D'etudes Arabes* XVI) 1969.

²⁷⁹ Theodor Nöldeke et al., *The History of the Qur'ān* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012).

Even the sources of these accounts—Shīʿite commentaries on the Koran, and Sunnite historical works with Shīʿite influence—are suspect, since everything that Shīʿites say about the most saintly man of their sect must be considered a priori a tendentious fabrication. The content of these reports contradicts all sound facts of history. Neither the traditions regarding Zayd b. Thābit's collection of the Koran nor those about other pre-ʿUthmānic collections know anything of an analogous work by ʿAlī. He himself never refers to his own collection, neither during his caliphate nor before, and it is certain that the Shīʿites were never in possession of such a document.²⁸⁰

Schwally's conclusion is based on three arguments: First, the unreliability of the Shīʿite sources; second, the reports are not mentioned in the Sunnī traditions that Schwally believes to be the 'sound facts of history'; and third, even ʿAlī himself did not refer to his codex even after he had become the Caliph.

It might be that this harsh criticism of the Shīʿite sources discouraged later scholars from investigating the matter further, yet despite his strong opinion on the issue Schwally's arguments seem to be rather flimsy as he ignores the arguments of the Shīʿite scholars and sources on the subject. 'Shīʿite influence' on certain scholars should not be a ground for invalidation of their reports. This kind of approach, perhaps, stems from the idea that Shīʿism is a heretic interpretation of Islam, and the only way to study Islam is to rely on the Sunnī sources. This inevitably deprives scholars from valuable Shīʿite sources, particularly in a field where scarcity of sources has been gravely lamented.²⁸¹ Especially in the context of the current debate regarding the historicity of the Qurʾān, which came under strong scrutiny due to the lack of availability of written materials, books like *Kitāb* by Sulaym bin Qays al-Hilālī (d. 689 or 695) could have been a valuable contribution to the debate as it explicitly mentions the Qurʾān as 'the Book of God' in such an early period.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 219–220.

²⁸¹ See chapter one

As for the second and third arguments, considering the political struggles and propaganda it would be highly unlikely that Sunnī sources would include such a tradition. Further, the fact that ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib had to deal with two major rebellions (led by ‘Ā’isha and Mu‘āwiya) during his caliphate which was launched on the pretext of ‘‘Alī’s failure to find perpetrators of ‘Uthmān b. Affān’s assassination’, it would be very imprudent of him to replace his copy with ‘Uthmān’s. Such a move would have certainly been capitalised by his opponents and increased the opposition activities against his leadership.

Further, even the Shī’ite scholars have historically paid less attention to the quranic sciences in comparison to the other fields of Islamic studies. Their attention has mostly focused on more practical matters such as Islamic jurisprudence (‘*usūl* and *fiqh*). Present curriculums of the Shī’ite seminaries in Qum and Najaf are good examples of this as very little space has been allocated to quranic studies.

Studying the Shī’ite perspective on the issue is crucial to the ongoing debate treated in the previous two chapters. Goldziher’s famous assertion that Islamic *ḥadīth* literature was fabricated as a result of political dispute among various political factions after the death of the Prophet has dramatically changed the perception of the Islamic sources in the Western academia.²⁸² Goldziher had argued that during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods the political struggles between the rival factions, in order to establish their political authorities, gave rise to the fabrication of the *ḥadīth* literature, which was heavily used as a means of legitimising the authority of the respective faction.²⁸³ The theory influenced generations of scholars and finally gave rise to the idea that not only the Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus but even the Qur’ān itself was a result of the invention process conducted by the early Muslims.²⁸⁴

²⁸² Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 1971.

²⁸³ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 1971, 92–97.

²⁸⁴ See the first chapter.

In this frame of reference, one may understand how Goldzihier's theory led Western scholars to reach similar conclusions for the Qur'ān as well. Once doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the Muslim sources, it would be too tempting to ignore the possibility that the Qur'ān might also have been fabricated. Having said that, aside from the availability of authentic sources²⁸⁵ regarding the history of the Qur'ān, there might be another hurdle in embracing such a theory. In the case of *ḥadīth*, there was a plethora of examples that indicated involvement of the political factions in the *ḥadīth* fabrication process, in order to gain legitimacy or vilify their opponents.²⁸⁶ If we are following the same pattern of thought, in order to reach the conclusion that the Qur'ān was also invented, it needs to be established whether the same political factions also put together their different copies of the Qur'ān in order to capitalise it for their political gains.

Indeed, some works mentioned in Chapter One have embarked upon verifying such a possibility. Especially the issue of variant readings of the Qur'ān has been at the centre of attention in this respect. However, this alone failed to satisfy the scholars since the nuances between the different readings of the Qur'ān did not stand as sturdy proof for the invention of the Qur'ān.

If the Qur'ān was fabricated - in the sense that it was not the work of Muḥammad – the Shī'ites, who were the most important religious/political opposition group to the dominant political establishment, certainly would have disputed the authenticity of the copy of the Qur'ān that was adopted by their rivals. Further, it is possible that they introduced their own copies of the Qur'ān, which would then reinforce their legitimacy for political/religious dominance. Hence, in order to come up with a more plausible conclusion for the on-going debate regarding the early history of the Qur'ān it is crucial to study the Shī'ite point of view on the subject.

²⁸⁵ Harald Motzki, "The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Development," *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 1–34.

²⁸⁶ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 1971.

Muḥammad Hādī Maʿrifat is one of the most important contemporary Shīʿite scholars who exclusively worked on the science of the Qurʾān. His ten volume work, entitled *al-Tamhīd fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, is arguably the most comprehensive Shīʿite book on the science of the Qurʾān which covers a variety of the issues related to the Qurʾān. The first volume of the book is mostly allocated to the early history of the Qurʾān and therefore, it is worthwhile examining the book in order to gain insight into mainstream Shīʿite perspectives on the issue.

Maʿrifat at first clarifies issues regarding the style of the Qurʾān that has been criticised by Western scholarship. He agrees that there might be apparent inconsistencies in the style of the Qurʾān in various verses. Grammatical issues such as usage of different pronouns and abrupt changes of subjects etc. can be observed in various parts of the Qurʾān. In order to explain these 'ostensible' problems, similar to his Sunnī colleague Haleem,²⁸⁷ he introduces the concept of *iltifāt*. He argues that the Qurʾān was revealed in the form of speech, not as a written material and later collated and transformed into the written format. This inevitably causes problems for some readers who forget that the original format of the Qurʾān is a speech format. If we look at the Qurʾān from this perspective, he argues, the grammatical issues and style make perfect sense; all those issues are acceptable in the speech format and as a matter of fact are an indication of a skilled speaker.²⁸⁸

He then delves into various issues that cause confusion in understanding the Qurʾān and the role of the Prophet in the process of the revelation. He points out the sloppy work of the Muslim scholars who do not assess the traditions concerning the revelation of the Qurʾān and as a result cause this confusion. One of the most striking examples of this careless scholarship is the story of Waraqa b. Nawfal. His confirmative role in the event of revelation is widely accepted by Muslim scholars and has been used as evidence for the truthfulness of Muḥammad. However,

²⁸⁷ Abdel Haleem, *Understanding the Qurʾān*, 237.

²⁸⁸ Muḥammad Hādī Maʿrifat, *al-Tamhīd fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Qum: Muassasah Tamhīd, 2011), 50–56.

Ma'rifat argues that the incident perhaps reassured convinced Muslims who approach the subject from a religious perspective but it put further doubts in the minds of Western scholars about the authenticity of the Qur'ān. This doubt extends even to the Muslim scholars who approach the subject critically.

Ma'rifat perhaps refers to some Western Scholars that we discussed in the first chapter; they used the event to argue that the Qur'ān was written under the influence of Christianity and Waraqa, thought to be a learned Christian, was one of Muḥammad's tutors from whom he learned Christian concepts which he adapted into Islam. The event²⁸⁹ that describes the first encounter of Muḥammad with the

²⁸⁹ Narrated by 'Ā'isha (the mother of the faithful believers): The commencement of the Divine Inspiration to Allāh's Apostle was in the form of good dreams which came true like bright day light, and then the love of seclusion was bestowed upon him. He used to go in seclusion in the cave of Ḥirā' where he used to worship (Allāh alone) continuously for many days before his desire to see his family. He used to take with him on the journey food for the stay and then come back to (his wife) Khadīja to take his food like-wise again till suddenly the Truth descended upon him while he was in the cave of Ḥirā'. The angel came to him and asked him to read. The Prophet replied, "I do not know how to read.

The Prophet added, "The angel caught me (forcefully) and pressed me so hard that I could not bear it any more. He then released me and again asked me to read and I replied, 'I do not know how to read.' Thereupon he caught me again and pressed me a second time till I could not bear it any more. He then released me and again asked me to read but again I replied, 'I do not know how to read (or what shall I read)?' Thereupon he caught me for the third time and pressed me, and then released me and said, 'Read in the name of your Lord, who has created (all that exists) has created man from a clot. Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous.'" (96.1, 96.2, 96.3) Then Allāh's Apostle returned with the Inspiration and with his heart beating severely. Then he went to Khadīja bint Khuwaylid and said, "Cover me! Cover me!" They covered him till his fear was over and after that he told her everything that had happened and said, "I fear that something may happen to me." Khadīja replied, "Never! By Allāh, Allāh will never disgrace you. You keep good relations with your Kith and kin, help the poor and the destitute, serve your guests generously and assist the deserving calamity-afflicted ones."

Khadīja then accompanied him to her cousin Waraqa bin Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzza, who, during the pre-Islamic Period became a Christian and used to write the writing with Hebrew letters. He would write from the Gospel in Hebrew as much as Allah wished him to write. He was an old man and had lost his eyesight. Khadīja said to Waraqa, "Listen to the story of your nephew, O my cousin!" Waraqa asked, "O my nephew! What have you seen?" Allāh's Apostle described whatever he had seen. Waraqa said, "This is the same one who keeps the secrets (angel Gabriel) whom Allāh had sent to Moses. I wish I were young and could live up to the time when your people would turn you out." Allāh's Apostle asked, "Will they drive me out?" Waraqa replied in the affirmative and said, "Anyone (man) who came with something similar to what you have brought was treated with hostility; and if I should remain alive till the day when you will be turned out then I would support you strongly." But after a few days Waraqa died and the Divine Inspiration was also paused for a while.

Narrated Jabir b. 'Abdallāh al-Ansārī while talking about the period of pause in revelation reporting the speech of the Prophet "While I was walking, all of a sudden I heard a voice from the sky. I looked up and saw the same angel who had visited me at the cave of Ḥirā' sitting on a chair between the sky and the earth. I got afraid of him and came back home and said, 'Wrap me (in blankets).' And then

archangel Gabriel, who brought down the first revelations to Muḥammad, is rather odd for Maʿrifat. The magnitude of the event reportedly left Muḥammad confused and scared; thus he needed to be reassured by first his wife Khadījah and then her cousin, a Christian scholar Waraqa b. Nawfal. The incident has been narrated in the canonical Sunnī books written by al-Bukhārī, al-Muslim, Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī and hence generally accepted by mainstream Sunnī scholarship. But Maʿrifat, like other Shīʿite scholars, is not convinced about the reliability of the incident on several grounds:

First, he believes that the incident goes against 'Islamic teachings', according to which Muḥammad occupies a very elevated place that exceeds other great prophets such as Prophet Ibrāhīm and Mūsā. Therefore Maʿrifat argues that according to the Qurʾān God never left them in fear and always supported them in their difficult situations. Taking this into account, it would seem very unlikely to Shīʿites that God would expose His favourite messenger to such a terrifying event.²⁹⁰

This approach concurs with Shīʿite scholars firm conviction about the inauthenticity of these kinds of traditions which stems from their theological approach towards the status of the prophets. According to Shīʿite teaching the prophets are infallible beings in both their religious and worldly affairs, thus they are not expected to commit any errors in either of these areas. The concept of infallibility of the prophets has been well emphasised in the Shīʿite sources. In this regard, *Nahj al-Balāgha*, the most important Shīʿite text after the Qurʾān, provides valuable information. The book was compiled by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) and contains a compilation of the sermons of the first Imām, ʿAlī. Sermon 192 of the book mentions the qualities of the prophets in general:

Allah revealed the following Holy Verses (of the Qurʾān): 'O you (i.e. Muḥammad)! wrapped up in garments!' Arise and warn (the people against Allāh's Punishment),... up to 'and desert the idols.' (74.1-5) After this the revelation started coming strongly, frequently and regularly."

²⁹⁰ Muḥammad Hādī Maʿrifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, 1:115.

But Allah, the Glorified, makes His Prophets firm in their determination and gives them weakness of appearance as seen from the eyes, along with contentment that fills the hearts and eyes resulting from care-freeness, and with want that pains the eyes and ears.

If the prophets possessed authority that could not be assaulted, or honour that could not be damaged or domain towards which the necks of people would turn and the saddles of mounts could be set, it would have been very easy for people to seek lessons and quite difficult to feel vanity. They would have then accepted belief out of fear felt by them or inclination attracting them, and the intention of them all would have been the same, although their actions would have been different. Therefore, Allah, the Glorified decided that people should follow His prophets, acknowledge His books, remain humble before His face, obey His command and accept His obedience with sincerity in which there should not be an iota of anything else; and as the trial and tribulation would be stiffer the reward and recompense too should be larger.^{291 292}

Second, it is difficult for Maʿrifat to understand that scholars who are expected to be 'men of investigation' and scrutiny, equate the knowledge of a person like his wife who has no insight into the secrets of the Prophethood of Muḥammad, to Muḥammad himself, who has reached the station of perfection and was thus given the mission of conveying God's message. Therefore, they cannot accept a story in which Khadījah reassures Muḥammad about his Prophethood.

According to Maʿrifat, whose perspective reflects the general Shīʿite view on the topic, before reaching the status of Prophethood, Muḥammad went through a rigorous training and purification process so that he could cope with the burden of the revelation. This is why he would pay regular visits to the cave of Ḥirā' wherein he had been prepared for the revelation. For Maʿrifat, the above story clearly contradicts the status of the Prophet that has been defined in the Muslim sources. It

²⁹¹ Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāgha* (Qum, Iran : New York, N.Y: Ansariyan Publications, 1981).

²⁹² The tradition can also be found on these sources: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb bin Ishāq al-Kulaynī. *Al-Kāfi fī ʿIlm al-Dīn*. Vol. 4. 4th ed. Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamī, 1986.

is incompatible with the essence of the Islamic teachings that the Prophet needed reassurance from his wife or a Christian scholar. He goes as far as to claim that this story is clearly an infringement of the noble station of the Prophet. Hence, he rules out the authenticity of such an incident.²⁹³

Furthermore, his arguments are not limited to merely theological arguments. He also points out the discrepancies in the texts of the various versions of the narrations. For instance, in one version it was Khadījah who went to see Waraqa alone and gave the account of the first revelation. In another version, however, it is said that Khadījah takes Muḥammad to Waraqa and asks him to narrate the event himself. In return Waraqa affirms that 'This was Gabriel whom God had sent to Moses'.²⁹⁴ In the third version, Waraqa meets Muḥammad while he is circumambulating around the Ka'ba and questions him about the incident. In return Muḥammad replies with the account of the event and Waraqa then confirms Muḥammad's Prophethood. In the fourth version, which is narrated on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, Waraqa questions Muḥammad regarding Gabriel who brings the revelation. Muḥammad then gives the following description: 'He comes to me from Heaven, his wings are pearl and the surfaces of his feet are green.' And in the fifth version Abū Bakr comes to Khadījah, who instructs her to take Muḥammad to Waraqa.

For Ma'rifat the discrepancies are obvious as different versions of the story have clear disagreements as to who accompanied Khadījah on the way to Waraqa. In addition, some versions discuss the meeting that took place between Waraqa and Muḥammad as opposed to Khadījah's role as intermediary. Further, even the content of the conversation between the Prophet and Waraqa varies; in the fourth version, the Prophet's description of Gabriel is different from the description that Khadījah gave to Waraqa. Finally, Ma'rifat asks a crucial question that sums up his position: If Waraqa knew that Muḥammad was a true messenger of God why did he not

²⁹³ Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:115.

²⁹⁴ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Dimashq, Beirut: Dār ibn Kathīr, 2002), 7–8.

become a Muslim?²⁹⁵ According to some traditions he died as a Christian and according to some others, which are weaker, he became Muslim later but it is certain that he did not become Muslim at the initial point of revelation. This is another strong indication for Ma‘rifat that that the story is fabricated.²⁹⁶

A detailed examination of Sunnī traditions regarding the first revelation and the role of Waraqa was carried out in Gregor Schoeler’s recent work²⁹⁷ *The Biography of Muḥammad: Nature and Authenticity*. Schoeler, after his rigorous examination of the different variants of the tradition according to Juynboll’s *isnād* criticism method concludes that the traditions are not reliable:

even the oldest, more or less safely identifiable informants for the story (‘Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr; even more so ‘Abdallāh ibn Ṣaddad and Abū Maysarah) received the account through *hearsay*²⁹⁸, not from an immediate witness or a contemporary of the event. What they report are ‘memories of memories’ and therefore oral traditions. The events in question did not take place during their lifetime, but long before their birth.^{299 300 301}

Ma‘rifat then scrutinises the transcription of the Qur’ān. He echoes the mainstream Shī‘ite point of view that Muḥammad was an illiterate man, in the sense that he

²⁹⁵ Muḥammad Hādī Ma‘rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*, 1:116.

²⁹⁶ On a separate note, Shī‘ite scholars also do not believe that the uncle of the Prophet, Abū Ṭālib, was an unbeliever. Aside from an abundance of traditions narrated from the Imāms, Shī‘ite scholars strongly disagree with the Sunnī account of the history according to which Abū Ṭālib’s motivation in his support of the Prophet was merely to protect his nephew. Abū Ṭālib provided a great deal of support to the Prophet at a very crucial time by risking his and his family’s lives so he must have embraced Islam but did not announce his conversion so that he could keep his position as the leader of Mecca and continue to support the Prophet.

²⁹⁷ Gregor Schoeler, *The Biography of Muḥammad: Nature and Authenticity*, ed. James E. Montgomery, trans. Uwe Vagelpohl (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2011).

²⁹⁸ Italics from the original text.

²⁹⁹ Gregor Schoeler, *The Biography of Muḥammad: Nature and Authenticity*, 78.

³⁰⁰ However, Shoemaker has challenged the findings of Schoeler in his lengthy work: Shoemaker, Stephen J. “In Search of ‘Urwa’s Sīra: Some Methodological Issues in the Quest for ‘Authenticity’ in the Life of Muḥammad.” *Der Islam* 85, no. 2 (January 2011). Furthermore, Uri Rubin, in his work entitled *The Eye of the Beholder* also provides a cursory examination of the story and concludes that the traditions ‘exhibit no history of backwards growth in their *isnāds*.’ (Uri Rubin. *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims*. Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1995, p.249)

³⁰¹ Muḥammad Hādī Ma‘rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī ‘Ulūm Al-Qur’ān*, 1:131.

could not write but could perhaps read, and thus needed scribes to record the revelation.³⁰² The first of those scribes was, unsurprisingly, his cousin ‘Alī who until the end of his life continued to record the revelation. For Ma‘rifat who represents mainstream Shī‘ite attitude on the issue, ‘Alī’s status was unique among the other scribes since he did not leave any revelation unwritten; even the verses that were revealed in his absence, were later dictated to him by the Prophet. This is a problematic statement since it implies that other scribes like Ubay b. Ka‘b and ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd had missed parts of revelation in their respective codices. Further, his position was also noteworthy as he did not restrict himself to the revelation itself but also recorded the exegesis of the relevant verses.

The issue of *tahrīf*

Despite Ma‘rifat’s great mastery in locating the relevant sources on the issue, and his deep insight, one must acknowledge that he fails to provide systematic analysis with a consistent method. His treatment of the traditions is not standard and his focus very often shifts from *isnād* to *matn* analysis. For example, when he treats the group of traditions regarding the story of Waraqa, his focus is merely on the discrepancies in the *matn*; yet when he treats the Shī‘ite traditions on the issue of *tahrīf* (the Shī‘ite notion of distortion of the Qur’ān) his focus shifts to the *asānīd* of the traditions. This causes methodological problems for his study, as he does not explain why he shifts his method in the examination of different traditions. In addition, when he studies ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s codex he presents more than a dozen traditions that report the event, but he fails to provide any analysis of the traditions.

The above-mentioned shortcomings in Ma‘rifat’s treatment of the subject might be considered a deliberate effort to purge the Shī‘ite approach to the Qur’ān from ‘unorthodox’ views such as the concept of *tahrīf*. His stance is a very orthodox Shī‘ite one and the work undoubtedly represents the current mainstream view in the Shī‘ite approach to the Qur’ān. Especially his lack of analysis of the traditions related to

‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān strengthen this theory as it is evident that these traditions would not survive a thorough examination if it were to be carried out according to the traditional Muslim *ḥadīth* criticism methods.

Therefore, it may be pertinent to undertake a brief study the concept of *tahrīf* to demonstrate different views regarding the Shī’ite approach to the Qur’ān. Joseph Eliash’s work, entitled ‘The Shī’ite Qur’ān’³⁰³ is one of the most noteworthy attempts to study the subject in the western academia. In his study, Eliash points out the influence of Goldziher’s conclusions on the Islamicists regarding the Shī’ite approaches to the Qur’ān and summarises Goldziher’s findings in three categories:

1. According to the Shī’ites, the Uthmanic codex is not the complete Qur’ān as Shī’ite references, including the glorification of ‘Alī bin abī Ṭālib, have been omitted. In addition, the order of the verses was altered in the codex.
2. ‘Alī possessed a complete version of the Qur’ān which was larger than the Uthmanic codex. This copy has been kept within the family of ‘Alī, and finally was passed to the 12th Imam who is in occultation.
3. Until the reappearance of the Hidden Imam, Shī’ites have been encouraged to accept the recension of ‘Uthmān.³⁰⁴

Eliash investigated the Goldziher’s references with the aim of assessing the reliability of his claims. With regard to Goldziher’s claim that there were omitted parts in the Qur’ān, namely two chapters (The Two Lights or *Sūrat al Nurayn* and *Sūrat al-Wilāyat*), Eliash argues that W. St. Clair Tisdall had already proved that these additions were the result of a fabrication process. Tisdall, in his article entitled ‘Shi’ah Additions to the Koran’³⁰⁵, examines the alleged quranic chapters and traces

³⁰³ Joseph Eliash, “The Shī’ite Qur’ān,” *Arabica* 16, no. 1 (1969): 15–24, doi:10.1163/157005869X00162.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 15–16.

³⁰⁵ W. St. Clair Tisdall, “Shi’ah Additions to the Koran,” *The Muslim World* 3, no. 3 (1913): 227–241, doi:10.1111/j.1478-1913.1913.tb00204.x.

them to a copy of the Qur'ān published in Bankipur, India, in June, 1912.³⁰⁶ In his linguistic analysis of the chapters, he concludes that the alleged chapters were forgeries.³⁰⁷

According to Eliash the only reliable Shī'ite source remaining on the subject that Goldziher might have used to try to justify his claims is *al-Kāfī fī 'ilm al-Dīn*³⁰⁸. Eliash points out two traditions in the book that apparently support Goldziher's allegation but he argues that the traditions might be interpreted differently.³⁰⁹ Although Eliash reaches some important findings in this valuable study, like some other Islamicists he fails to investigate the authenticity of the traditions. As a matter of fact, none of the scholars who has studied the subject have carried out a thorough investigation of the sources nor come up with a convincing conclusion.

In this regard, Todd Lawson evaluates the discussion on the Shī'ite Qur'ān that has been carried out by Western scholarship and points out the need to examine the traditions.³¹⁰ In his rather brief study, Lawson therefore draws attention to some Shī'ite sources such as Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī's (d. 328/939 or 329/940) *al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*.³¹¹ Lawson flags 92 separate reports on the issue of *tahrīf* but examines only three of the traditions.³¹² After a brief study of the reports, he then examines much later works in order to understand the approach of the Shī'ite scholars to the subject.

Perhaps the most comprehensive discussion on the issue is a lengthy article published by Hossein Modarressi. In the article,³¹³ Modarressi approaches the issue

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 228.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 229–230.

³⁰⁸ Abu Ja'far Muḥammad bin Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī Fī 'Ilm Al-Dīn*, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyyah, 1986).

³⁰⁹ Joseph Eliash, "The Shī'ite Qur'ān," 21.

³¹⁰ Todd Lawson, "Note for The Study of a Shī'ī Qur'ān," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XXXVI, no. 2 (1991): 284, doi:10.1093/jss/XXXVI.2.279.

³¹¹ Abu Ja'far Muḥammad bin Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī Fī 'Ilm Al-Dīn*.

³¹² Todd Lawson, "Note for The Study of a Shī'ī Qur'ān," 285.

³¹³ Hossein Modarressi, "Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur'ān: A Brief Survey," *Studia Islamica* no. 77 (January 1, 1993): 5–39, doi:10.2307/1595789.

in the context of a partisan debate between the Sunnīs and the supporters of ‘Alī.³¹⁴ Modarressi maintains that despite the allegations that Shī’ites believe that Sunnīs distorted the Qur’ān, there is overwhelming evidence that Shī’ite scholars as early as the second century did not support such a view.³¹⁵ Modarressi also discards the works of Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī, who included traditions that explicitly indicate the distortion of the Qur’ān. Modarressi maintains that al-Sayyārī, as a Shī’ite theologian, was concerned with overcoming his Sunnī opponents and therefore included such traditions in his works.³¹⁶ He considers al-Sayyārī, along with some other early scholars, as the owners of ‘extremist, heretical tendencies’ and asserts that therefore they were distanced from the mainstream Shī’ite scholarship.³¹⁷

Modarressi maintains that owing to the efforts of Shī’ite ‘extremist groups’, the material on the issue of *taḥrīf* grew dramatically during the first half of the 3rd/9th century.³¹⁸ The culmination of these efforts resulted in al-Sayyārī’s *Kitāb al-Qira’āt* (or *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa al-Taḥrīf*).³¹⁹ Some Shī’ite scholars, such as for example ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 307/919-20) and Sa’d b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ash‘arī (d. 299-301/912-14) believed in the authenticity of these traditions and reported them in their own works. Some other scholars mentioned these reports without commenting on them. These include Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī (late 3rd/9th century), Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941), Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Kashshī (early 4th/10th century), and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu‘mānī (d. ca. 350/961).³²⁰

Therefore, Modarressi isolates al-Sayyārī’s *Kitāb al-Qira’āt* as the source for the Shī’ite concept of *taḥrīf*. However, the findings of Modarressi remain largely speculative since he fails to provide reasonable evidence for his claims. His work is

³¹⁴ Ibid. pp-18-19.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 28–29.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 26–27.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 32.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb Al-Qira’āt Aw Kitāb Al-Tanzīl Wa Al-Taḥrīf*, ed. Etan Kohlberg and Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (Leiden, Boston,: Brill, 2009).

³²⁰ Hossein Modarressi, “Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur’ān,” 32–33.

rather an overview, and does not engage with the examination of the relevant traditions. This is perhaps why he considers his work as 'A Brief Survey' despite its considerable length.

Fortunately, a critical edition of al-Sayyārī's *Kitāb al-Qira'āt* has recently been published under the title of *Revelation and Falsification*,³²¹ with an introduction and extremely useful notes by Etan Kohlberg and Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi's contribution is very important in our quest to understand the Shī'ite view on the issue, as he is a prominent representative of an 'unorthodox' Shī'ite view on the nature of the Qur'ān. In their evaluation of the work the editors consider al-Sayyārī's work original and the oldest monograph upholding the Shī'ite notion of the falsification of the Qur'ān.³²² They argue that the concept of *taḥrīf* was dominant among the early Shī'ite scholars but Ibn Bābawayh later mostly purged these views. They further provide some bibliographical information regarding the traditions and biographical information regarding the transmitters of the traditions.³²³

There is an unmistakable effort from the editors to convince the reader of the existence of the concept of *taḥrīf* as they, with the help of the findings of some Western scholars, argue that the codification of the Qur'ān took place during the Umayyad period. Their main evidence is the works of Michael Cook and Harald Motzki which found that the Qur'ān was collated during the Umayyad era. Therefore it is possible that it might have undergone *taḥrīf* during this period.

In his review of the work, Muhammad Saeed Bahmanpour casts some doubts regarding the claims of Kohlberg and Amir-Moezzi regarding their assertion that the views of al-Sayyārī gained prominence among the Shī'ites during the pre-Buwayhīd era (ends in the mid 4th /10th century) and with the beginning of the Buwayhīd era,

³²¹ Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Sayyārī, *Revelation and Falsification*, ed. Etan Kohlberg and Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Text and Studies on the Qur'ān (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009AD).

³²² Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Sayyārī, *Revelation and Falsification*, 29.

³²³ Ibid.

and especially owing to the efforts of ‘Alī Ibn Muḥammad b. Bābawayh, (d. 381/991) Shī’ite scholars began to abandon such a view. Bahmanpour finds their arguments for such a dramatic shift - namely that owing to political reasons, the Buwayhids wanted to adopt a mainstream Islamic doctrine - to be unconvincing, ‘vague and highly hypothetical presumptions.’³²⁴ In addition, he asserts that the authors do not address the question of how Ibn Bābawayh alone could change the longstanding belief among the Shī’ites.³²⁵

The brief examination of the subject provides us with two different approaches to the issue. There have been a small group of scholars in the Shī’ite who maintained that the concept of *taḥrīf* exists, and orthodox Shī’ite scholars have been at work to refute them. It is possible to consider Ma‘rifat’s work one of the attempts of Shī’ite orthodoxy to serve this purpose; nevertheless, as the arguments surrounding the subject remain unsubstantiated, reaching such a conclusion would be hasty at this point. Such a conclusion can only be justified upon a thorough examination of the relevant traditions.

‘Alī’s codex in the earliest Shī’ite sources

For Shī’ites, the evidence for ‘Alī’s collation of the Qur’ān is provided in a well-known tradition recorded in *Kitāb Sulaym bin Qays al-Hilālī*. The book contains a compilation of the sayings of the Imāms which were supposedly to be written by Sulaym b. Qays (d. 689/70 or 76/695), believed to be an ardent supporter of ‘Alī and follower of the subsequent four Imāms.³²⁶ The book is believed to be the oldest surviving Shī’ite book dated back to the first Islamic century. The introductory

³²⁴ Ibid., 232–233.

³²⁵ Ibid., 233.

³²⁶ It is generally believed that Shī’ite scholars authored books since the very early periods. Most of these works have been lost but their existence is proven by later works that refer to these sources. For more information see Etan Kohlberg. “Al-uṣūl Al-arba‘umi’a.” In *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, edited by Harald Motzki, 43–147. The Formation of the Classical Islamic World v. 28. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

chapter states that Sulaym b. Qays entrusted the book to his Persian student Ābān b. abī ‘Ayyāsh, who handed it over to another person just before his death.

The book is considered to be different from other ḥadīth books as it is called ‘aṣ/’ (source)³²⁷ by Shī’ite scholars. Aṣ/ is best described by Etan Kohlberg:

‘Aṣ/ consists exclusively of utterances of an Imām which are committed to writing for the first time. In some cases the author of an ‘aṣ/ reports traditions which he himself heard directly from the Imām, in others he relies on the authority of a ḥadīth scholar who transmits what he heard the Imām say.’³²⁸

In the case of *Kitāb Sulaym bin Qays al-Hilālī*, as he was a disciple of the first four Imāms, he reports directly from the Imāms. Hence the book is considered to hold special status in comparison to other ḥadīth works. It should also be noted that, Shī’ite scholars do not consider all the uṣūl automatically authentic and have thus developed tools to assess their authenticity. In this regard, some Shī’ite scholars have questioned the authenticity of the present copy of the book as they suspect that its content may be different from the original text.³²⁹

Nevertheless, the tradition clearly indicates, as opposed to the claims of Wansbrough³³⁰ and his students, that at such an early time Muslims were aware of the existence of the Qur’ān and that this Qur’ān was in the form of a book, as ‘Alī confirms by calling it ‘the Book of God’ in his sermon. If the tradition is authentic – we will examine this in the next chapter - it is perhaps the earliest written source that acknowledges the existence of the Qur’ān.

³²⁷ Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī‘a Ilā Taṣānīf Al-Shī‘a*, vol. 2 (Qum and Tehran: Ismā‘īlīyān and Kitābhāne’i Islāmī, n.d.), 152.

³²⁸ Etan Kohlberg, “Al-Uṣūl Al-Arba‘umi’a,” in *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, ed. Harald Motzki, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World, v. 28 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 109–110.

³²⁹ Ja‘far Subhānī, *Kulliyāt fī ‘Ilm al-Rijāl*, 1th ed. (Iran: Al-Ḥawzah al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1990).

³³⁰ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*.

Shī'ite scholars in general concur with the Sunnī traditions stating that aside from 'Alī there were three other senior scribes who recorded the Qur'ān in Madina: 'Ubay b. Ka'b, Zayd b. Thābit and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd. The traditions indicate that if Ka'b was absent after a revelation, the Prophet would request Zayd or Ibn Mas'ūd. The other scribes, aside from these four Companions, did not play a significant role in the recording of the Qur'ān.

These scribes of the Prophet, except for Zayd, later put together their own codices along with some other Companions of the Prophet. However, only 'Alī's copy of the Qur'ān preserved the 'natural order' of the chapters of the Qur'ān.³³¹ What is meant by 'natural order' is the order of the revelation as it took place, but it seems that the Prophet himself did not advise any order for the chapters of the Qur'ān. Although the scribes were accurate in terms of the order of the verses they were not accurate in the order of the chapters. It was only 'Alī who was meticulous about it.³³²

However, there is no dispute about the order of the verses or distortion of the Qur'ān.^{333 334}

In terms of the time of the collection of the Qur'ān, Shī'ite scholars by and large take a view similar to that of the Sunnī scholars, that the Qur'ān was collected after the demise of the Prophet. In this regard, Ma'rifat demonstrates the Shī'ite perspective in a systematic way. He divides the collection of the Qur'ān into two stages: First, the collection of the verses, which was undertaken by the Prophet himself; and second, the collection of the chapters which was carried out by the Prophet's Companions after his demise. In order to justify his argument he refers to the opinions of the Sunnī and Shī'ite scholars such as Abū Ḥusayn b. Fāris, Jalāladdīn al-Suyūṭī and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, who maintained the same view.³³⁵

³³¹ Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:280.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Q.41:42 and Q.15:9

³³⁴ Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:277–278.

³³⁵ Ibid., 1:285.

After the demise of the Prophet, the Shī'ites believed that it was their first Imām, 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib, who collected the first complete copy of the Qur'ān. In this regard the following tradition narrated by the sixth Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) seems to be among the most often mentioned traditions: 'O 'Alī! The Qur'ān is behind my bed on scrolls, silk and leaves. Take it and collate it but do not lose it!³³⁶

The tradition is included in *Tafsīr al-Qummī* written by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 306/919). The work is one of the most important sources of tradition for Shī'ite faith as it is considered to be one of the earliest sources. Al-Qummī was one of the teachers of Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941), and the fact that al-Kulaynī narrates many traditions from him in his renowned work *al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn* increases the reliability of al-Qummī and his work in the eyes of Shī'ites.³³⁷

Shī'ite scholars have generally accepted the work as an authentic source as the author informs that he only narrates from reliable narrators.³³⁸ However, they also argue the copy that exists today is not the same as that which was written by al-Qummī. In this regard, like many Shī'ite scholars, Ja'far Subhānī in his *Kulliyāt fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl* argues that the present copy of the book is not the same as what 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī wrote originally. Subhānī argues that this book consists of two parts: One part is narrated by al-Qummī to his student Abū Faḍl al-'Abbās, , and the second part consists of Abū Faḍl al-'Abbās's own chains of narration that are independent from al-Qummī's chain of narration which goes back to Imām Bāqir through his companion Abū Jārud.³³⁹

Further, the book has been shortened several times, most notably in the fourteenth century by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Atā'iqī and a century later by the

³³⁶ 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, ed. Ṭayyib Mūsawī Jazāirī, vol. 2 (Qum: Dar al-Kitāb, 1983), 451.

³³⁷ Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn* (Qum: Dar al-Ḥadīth, 2008).

³³⁸ Abu al-Qasim al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafsīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt* (Maktab al-Ādāb al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1976), 49–50.

³³⁹ Ja'far Subhānī, *Kulliyāt fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl*, 313–315.

renowned Taqī al-Dīn al-Kaf‘amī. It has also been argued that the parts of the book that contain statements against ‘Ā’isha, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Sunnī Muslims in general have been removed from the modern edited version.^{340 341 342 343}

Nevertheless, the authenticity of the traditions is judged according to their own merits, thus the information has no influence on the authenticity of the tradition mentioned on the collection of the Qur’ān.

Shī’ite scholars agree that after ‘Alī other Companions also gathered their own copies: Abū Bakr instructed Zayd b. Thābit to collect the Qur’ān. He then passed this copy to ‘Umar, and when ‘Umar passed away, his daughter Ḥafṣa inherited the copy. Finally, when ‘Uthmān wanted to produce an official copy this was the copy of the Qur’ān that the official copy was checked against. In addition, Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Ubay b. Ka‘b and Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī all collected their own copies of the Qur’ān.³⁴⁴ This approach gives another perspective on Abū Bakr’s codex. Contrary to the Sunnī scholars, Shī’ite scholars do not consider Abū Bakr’s copy an official copy but rather a personal copy; thus they came up with a plausible answer to the question of why ‘Uthmān collated the Qur’ān if an official copy (Abū Bakr’s copy) already existed. This was an important flaw in the Sunnī story regarding the collection of the Qur’ān and the explanation seems to remove this flaw from the account.

Having said that, Shī’ites maintain that ‘Alī’s copy was ‘more complete’ in the sense that it followed the ‘natural order’ of the chapters. In addition, it included essential information in the margins, like the verses that were abrogated and the

³⁴⁰ Muhammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, “‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī,” ed. Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Brill Online, 2013), <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/ali-b-ibrahim-al-qummi-SIM_0323>.

³⁴¹ Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī‘a Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, vol. 1 (Qum and Tehran: Ismā‘īlīyān and Kitābhāne‘i Islāmī, n.d.), 355–356.

³⁴² Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī‘a Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, vol. 4 (Qum and Tehran: Ismā‘īlīyān and Kitābhāne‘i Islāmī, n.d.), 297.

³⁴³ Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī‘a Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, vol. 20 (Qum and Tehran: Ismā‘īlīyān and Kitābhāne‘i Islāmī, n.d.), 190–191.

³⁴⁴ Muḥammad Hādī Ma‘rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*.

circumstances in which particular verses were revealed. The other copies neither preserved the 'natural order' nor included information about abrogated verses and reports on circumstances in which particular verses were revealed. Hence they argue that 'Alī's copy was superior to the other copies.

In this regard *Kitāb al-Tashīl li- 'Ulūm al-Tanzīl*³⁴⁵ written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzay al-Kalbī (1321-1357), proves useful for supporting the Shī'ite narration. In his book, al-Kalbī states that 'when the Prophet (r) passed away 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib (a) stayed in his home and collated the Qur'ān according to the order in which it was revealed. If it was to be found there is great knowledge in it.' However, this copy was not available.³⁴⁶ Yet, there is no reference in al-Kalbī's statement and he does not mention a tradition on the subject. The Sunnī acknowledgment of the event is not only limited to al-Kalbī's work. Al-Suyūṭī, in his renowned work *al-Itqān*, mentioned a tradition narrated from 'Ikrima: 'if mankind and jinn came together to compile the Qur'ān like 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib, they would not be able to do so.'³⁴⁷

However, Muḥammad 'Izzat Darwaza (1888–1984) is an example how some Sunnī scholar, contested the existence of such a book. In his work entitled *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, Darwaza mentions 'the codex of 'Alī that introduces an order of the chapters different from the existing copy of the Qur'ān'. However, he argues that there is not a single authentic tradition that supports the view that the codex of 'Alī existed, nor had anybody seen it. In order to back up his stance, he mentions the tradition narrated from Ibn Sīrīn, according to which Ibn Sīrīn searched for 'Alī's codex in every part of Madina but could not find it.³⁴⁸ Hence, he concludes that this idea is invented by Shī'ites with the purpose of showing their opposition to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzay al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Tashīl li- 'Ulūm al-Tanzīl*, First, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Arqam, 1995).

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 1:12.

³⁴⁷ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Beirut-Lebanon: Resalah Publishers, 2008), 130.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Muḥammad 'Izzat Darwaza, *Al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār Ijyā ' al-Kutb al- 'Arabī, 1963), 74.

Darwaza's stance regarding the issue is difficult to ignore and could seriously hinder the Shī'ite perspective on the issue. However, his reliance on only one tradition and disregard of the traditions that support the existence of 'Alī's codex are the chief flaws in his argument. In addition, Ibn Sīrīn's failure to locate 'Alī's codex does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the codex did not exist. According to Shī'ite traditions that we will investigate below, the codex was preserved by descendants of 'Alī and was not accessible to the public.

Arguments regarding the collection of the Qur'ān at the time of the Prophet

The idea that the Qur'ān was collected into a single text during the time of the Prophet has always appealed to Muslims and some Shī'ite scholars are no exception to this. Eminent Sunnī scholars Qāḍī Abū Bakr b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (885–940), al-Karmānī (d. 1020), and al-Ṭayyibī and Shī'ite scholars al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (967-1044) and Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī (1899-1992) have taken this position. Among these, the opinion of al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā was based on the fact that the Qur'ān was studied and memorised as a whole during the lifetime of the Prophet. Some Companions completed the recitation of the Qur'ān in the presence of the Prophet. Taking this into consideration, he concludes that the Qur'ān must have been collated at the time of the Prophet.

However, this conclusion is not favoured by the majority of Shī'ite scholars due to the lack of historical evidence. In this regard, Ma'rifat challenges this view on the grounds that there is a difference between memorising the Qur'ān and collating it. They did not need to know the order of the chapters in order to memorise it; they just memorised not necessarily according to the order of the revelation. Hence this is not strong enough evidence to argue that the Qur'ān was collated at the time of the Prophet.³⁵⁰ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, one of the most prominent Shī'ite scholars of the

³⁵⁰ Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*.

21st century, comes to the aid of the view that the Qur'ān was collated at the time of the Prophet, with more forceful arguments that need to be mentioned here. He discusses his arguments in his work entitled *Prolegomena to the Qur'ān*.³⁵¹ Al-Khū'ī's main argument is that there are contradictions in the traditions regarding the collection of the Qur'ān. After mentioning some 22 different traditions on the issue, in his comparative examination of the traditions al-Khū'ī points out 12 contradictions in the texts of these traditions, which leads him to suspect that the traditions were all fabricated.³⁵² His main evidence is the lack of clarity in the traditions as to who compiled the Qur'ān first. The traditions mention the names of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān as having undertaken the work. It is impossible for all these people to have compiled an official copy of the Qur'ān as he believes that there was only one official compilation; hence there is a serious flaw in the traditions.

Al-Khū'ī also points out the contradiction in the traditions relating to the person who managed the compilation of the Qur'ān (as to whether it was Zayd b. Thābit or someone else). Further, there are also contradictions regarding the selection process of the sources from which the verses were to be included in the Qur'ān, and the identity of the person who advised Abū Bakr to compile the Qur'ān. These are the main evidences upon which al-Khū'ī establishes his theory that the Qur'ān must have been compiled during the lifetime of the Prophet.³⁵³ He further backs his theory by 'rational judgement' that the Prophet paid great attention to the Qur'ān during his lifetime and thus it would be highly unrealistic that he would not attempt to compile the Qur'ān and save it from any doubt.

Al-Khū'ī's view is quite unorthodox and somehow similar to the views and methodology of some of the Western scholars such as John Burton.³⁵⁴ Al-Khū'ī does not embrace the widespread conspiracy theory argued by Burton that various

³⁵¹ Sayyid abū al-Qāsim al-Mūsāwī al-Khū'ī, *The Prolegomena to the Qur'ān*, trans. Abdulaziz A. Sachedina (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 2000).

³⁵² Ibid., 64–70.

³⁵³ Ibid., 170.

³⁵⁴ See the first chapter.

Islamic legal schools fabricated the traditions that suggest the Qur'ān was collated after the demise of the Prophet.³⁵⁵ However, similar to Burton, al-Khū'ī agrees that there are contradictions in the Muslim traditions concerning the collection of the Qur'ān.

However, al-Khū'ī's view does not impress Ma'rifat. He asserts that the issue of the collection of the Qur'ān is a historical issue; al-Khū'ī's view, which is mostly based on 'rational conclusion', does not address the historical aspect as he cannot provide any credible historical evidence to back up his view which hence bears no value on the issue of the collection of the Qur'ān. Ma'rifat maintains that scholars cannot assert their opinions related to historical issues simply because their particular approach makes more sense. They need to make use of historical evidence to support their arguments and clearly al-Khū'ī lacks any historical evidence.³⁵⁶

Ma'rifat then argues that there is no contradiction in the Sunnī narrations regarding the history of the Qur'ān. However, there is a lack of arguments presented by Sunnī scholars, who could not come up with a clear explanation as to how the present Qur'ān came into existence. For Ma'rifat the narrations about the collation of the Qur'ān by Abū Bakr with the advice of 'Umar are indeed correct but this was not an official copy; rather it was a personal attempt to save the Qur'ān from any possible loss after the demise of the Prophet. Similar to him, a few other Companions felt responsible and dutifully collated the Qur'ān themselves. However, since Abū Bakr was the Caliph at the time, he could order Zayd to do it and when the work was done, it gave the impression that it was the official copy, to the later scholars. However this was not the case, it was a personal copy, this is why he then passed it to 'Umar, and since it was not the official copy when 'Umar died he passed it to his daughter Ḥafṣa, instead of passing it to his successor. The copy that 'Uthmān collated was the official copy and it was checked against Ḥafṣa's copy, but then Ḥafṣa's copy was returned to her.

³⁵⁵ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*.

³⁵⁶ Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:289.

This is what also Saleem argued in his thesis; he examined most of the traditions regarding the collection of the Qurʾān including the traditions regarding the codex of ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib with the aim of proving their unreliability and consequently asserting that the notion that the Qurʾān was compiled after the Prophet is false and that it was the Prophet himself who supervised the collection of the Qurʾān. Saleem’s method is based on traditional Islamic methods, which involves grading transmitters through *rijāl* works and *matn* analysis. Saleem, in his implementation of *matn* analysis, relies on principles³⁵⁷ that were introduced by al-Khātib al-Baghdādī (d. 463 AH)³⁵⁸ and his *isnād* analysis relies on the principles.^{359 360}

Like for the traditions about the other codices, the study provides a detailed examination of Sunnī and Shīʿite traditions and sources that suggest ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib put together his codex just after the demise of the Prophet. After examining the *asānīd* and *mutūn* of the relevant traditions according to his method, he concludes that similar to traditions about the formation of the other codices, they are not reliable. The study is commendable in the sense that it provides a very well-researched survey of the relevant sources and locates many traditions on the issue. Nevertheless, the research method of the study is the biggest obstacle to convince

³⁵⁷ ‘When a trustworthy and reliable narrator reports a narrative whose chain is also continuous, it will be rejected on the basis of the following points: Firstly, if it is against what sense and reason entail. This will show that it is baseless because the *sharīʿah* is in accordance with what sense and reason entail and not against them. Secondly, if it is against the injunctions (*naṣṣ*) of the Book of God or against *sunnah al-mutawātirah*; this would show that it has no basis or that it is abrogated. Thirdly, if it is against consensus; this would show that it has no basis or that it is abrogated because it is not possible that it be correct and not be abrogated and still there comes into being the consensus of the *ummah* against it ... Fourthly, something which had to be known by everyone is just narrated through one narrator; this would mean that it has no basis because it is not possible that something have a basis and among all the people only one person reports it. Fifthly, something is reported by one person which naturally should be reported through *tawātur*; such a thing also will not be accepted because it is not possible that such an incident be reported by only one person.’

³⁵⁸ Saleem, “Collection of the Qurʾān: A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī’s View,” 24.

³⁵⁹ ‘These five criteria are: firstly, the chain of narration should be uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*), secondly, the narrators should be trustworthy (‘*ādil*’), thirdly, they should have a sound memory (*ḍābiṭ*), fourthly, there should not be any hidden defect (‘*illāh*’) in the narrative and fifthly, the narrative should also be free from deviancy (*shudhūdh*) such that a trustworthy narrator opposes the report of a more trustworthy narrator.’

³⁶⁰ Saleem, “Collection of the Qurʾān: A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī’s View,” 25.

any reader who is familiar with the position of Western academia on the issue. Although he includes a short appendix³⁶¹ in his thesis that mentions the views of scholars like Wansbrough, Cook, Mingana, Casanova, Lüling and Lüxenberg who contested the authenticity of the Qur'ān as a work of Muḥammad altogether, he fails to address their arguments in his study. Basing on some verses of the Qur'ān he assumes that the Prophet must have collected the Qur'ān. In order to prove this he unnecessarily scrutinises every relevant tradition regarding the collection of the Qur'ān in a highly arbitrary way. He does not provide any historical evidence to attest his claims, which renders his study a mere speculation. There is no need to go through his arguments one by one; the points that Ma'rifat has made above for Khū'ī also address most of Saleem's claims.

Going back to Ma'rifat's arguments, we may say that this is perhaps the most complete explanation of the entire story based on selected historical evidence, as it demonstrates that there is no contradiction in the sound traditions regarding the collection of the Qur'ān. Further, in order to counter the argument of al-Khū'ī, Ma'rifat asserts that it is not plausible to argue that the Qur'ān was collated during the lifetime of the Prophet since the revelation was still on-going, thus during his lifetime he only placed the verses in the relevant chapters. However, he did not undertake the arranging of a standard codex in which the chapters are placed according to their order. Instead he instructed 'Alī to accomplish this before he died.³⁶²

Concluding comments

As is examined in Chapter Two, to some extent there is concurrence between the Sunnī and Shī'ite scholars on the issue. Mainstream Shī'ite scholars believe it was 'Uthmān who collected the official copy of the Qur'ān but this happened after 'Alī had collected the Qur'ān and some Muslims rejected this codex. This may be seen to

³⁶¹ Ibid., 356–360.

³⁶² Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat, *Al Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:290.

support the argument for the historicity of the text of the Qur'ān as the two rival politico/religious factions agree on its history, instead of promoting their own versions of the events. One can always argue that Shī'ite scholars initially believed that *Sunnīs* distorted the Qur'ān but then later changed their stance on the issue in order to appear more orthodox. However, there is no historical evidence to support this argument. Especially the fact that no comprehensive study has been carried out on the issue of *tahrīf* renders such an assertion nothing but speculation.

The chapter has also shown that based on a number of traditions the Shī'ites maintain that 'Alī collated the Qur'ān before anyone else. Such a finding is very significant in terms of contributing additional data to the debate regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān. However, before reaching a definite conclusion the traditions on the subject need to be analysed.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION TO *ISNĀD-CUM-MATN* METHODOLOGY

This chapter will introduce Harald Motzki's *isnād-cum-matn* method and explain why this method has been chosen in analysing the selected Shī'ite traditions regarding the early history of the Qur'ān.

In his work, entitled '*Dating Muslims Traditions: A Survey*,'³⁶³ Harald Motzki takes on various approaches to the early Islamic sources. Like all the other historical disciplines, he avers, Islamic studies have been trying to establish the reliability of their sources and in this regard source criticism has played an important role as it was a significant methodological achievement of modern times. By making use of the method in various ways, scholars of Islam have been involved in the quest of dating the early Islamic sources.³⁶⁴ Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus has been one of the earliest and most widely available Islamic sources; therefore, these methods have been mostly focused on the field of *ḥadīth* studies.

Motzki classifies these methods into four groups and examines their reliability: '1) methods which use the *matn* [the text part of the traditions], 2) dating on the basis of the collections where traditions appear, 3) dating on the basis of the *isnād* [chain of transmitters part of the traditions], and 4) methods using *matn* and *isnād*.'³⁶⁵

Motzki then begins a detailed survey of various representations of each method and points out their respective flaws. His criticism of these methods targets mainly the reliance on unsubstantiated premises upon which the method is built,³⁶⁶ heavy reliance on *argumentum e silentio* and reliance on only form criticism.³⁶⁷ Most of the

³⁶³ Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey," *Arabica* 52, no. 2 (April 1, 2005): 204–53.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 204–206.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 205–206.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 214.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

approaches that have been discussed by Motzki were treated in the first chapter of this thesis and examining all these methods again would be redundant; instead perhaps it would suffice to mention an example from his study in order to understand the approach. According to Motzki, Goldziher was the most important representative of the first method. Building upon his well-known premise that most of the *ḥadīth* literature came into existence as a result of political developments that took place during the first two centuries of Islam, Goldziher concludes that these traditions by and large have no historical value. Upon analysing the method Motzki detects two flaws in Goldziher's method:

First, his main focus is not the traditions themselves as 'his source material consists mostly of traditions about transmitters and *ḥadīths*'.³⁶⁸ When he discusses *ḥadīth* he mostly prefers traditions that are considered unreliable by Muslims. Second, Goldziher very rarely questions the historical reliability of the traditions that he treats.³⁶⁹ This is due to the fact that Goldziher, as an adherent of the first method, based his research on the premise that early Muslim scholars carried out large scale *ḥadīth* forgery.

Motzki, however, does not accept that there was large scale and organised *ḥadīth* forgery carried out by Muslim scholars. In his response to Cook, in the same article he makes his position clear:

However, in view of the reservations against his arguments, these are not the only positions which can be chosen. Neither Schacht nor Cook have convincingly shown that "spread of *isnāds*" was really practised on a significant scale. They have only shown that there were several possible ways how *isnāds* could be forged and that Muslim scholars could have had different motives to do so. Apart from possibilities, Schacht and Cook produced only scarce evidence that *isnād* forgery really happened.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 208.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

On the basis of mere possibilities and a few instances of real forgery, it makes no sense to abstain completely from using the *isnāds* for dating purposes.³⁷⁰

Further, he finds it unthinkable that *ḥadīth* forgery was a widespread practice, as it makes no sense to him:

Was the whole system of Muslim Hadīth criticism only a manoeuvre of deception? Who had to be deceived? Other Muslim scholars? They must have been aware of the pointlessness and vanity of all the efforts to maintain high standards of transmission, if forgery of *isnāds* was part and parcel of the daily scholarly practice.³⁷¹

In his article entitled 'The Musannaf of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic Aḥādīth of the First Century A.H.',³⁷² through the source analytical approach, Motzki gives a practical example that the assumption of widespread *ḥadīth* forgery, even in the case of legal traditions that Schacht based his theory on, was unfounded.³⁷³ For his study he selects the *Muṣannaf* of the Yemenite 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/ 826). The initial analysis of the 11 volume collection reveals that although it was compiled from different transmissions, ninety per cent of them go back to a single transmitter, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī (d. 285/898).³⁷⁴

Motzki believes that al-Dabarī received the transmissions from his father, who was a pupil of 'Abd al-Razzāq in written format. Yet, he did not mention his father's name in the *riwāya* on the grounds that he perhaps had received an *ijāza* (permission to

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 235.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Harald Motzki, "The Muṣannaf of 'Abd Al-Razzāq Al-San'ānī as a Source of Authentic Aḥādīth of the First Century AH," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50, no. 1 (1991): 1–21.

³⁷³ The article is a summary of Motzki's book entitled *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Harald Motzki. *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools*. Translated by Marion H. Katz. Vol. 41. *Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts*. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002.). The book provides a more thorough and detailed analysis of *The Musannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq and engages with discussions regarding the authenticity of the Muslim *ḥadīth* literature.

³⁷⁴ Harald Motzki, "The Muṣannaf of 'Abd Al-Razzāq Al-San'ānī as a Source of Authentic Aḥādīth of the First Century AH," 2.

transmit) from ‘Abd al-Razzāq himself as he attended the lectures of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, along with his father. Therefore, Motzki considers ‘Abd al-Razzāq the real author of the *Muṣannaf*, excluding some rare notes.³⁷⁵

He then traces the origins of the traditions compiled in the book and concludes that most of the material came from three people: Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, and al-Thawrī. Motzki divides the contributions of these reporters to the compilation through selection of 3810 single traditions, which make up 21 per cent of the entire work. According to Motzki’s calculations, Ma‘mar’s contribution is 32 per cent, Ibn Jurayj’s is 29 per cent, and al-Thawrī’s is 22 per cent. There is also Ibn ‘Uyayna, who reports 4 per cent of the traditions.³⁷⁶

Motzki discusses two possibilities: (1) These are original works that are either compiled from a large volume of independent sources, or the three individuals were teachers of ‘Abd al-Razzāq who gathered their teachings in the work. In either case the compilation is thought to be an authentic work. (2) It is also possible that ‘Abd al-Razzāq by-and-large fabricated these traditions and attributed them to these sources.³⁷⁷ Motzki then postulates that the two possibilities can be verified with the help of ‘biographical and bibliographical’³⁷⁸ reports about the sources, which is usually achieved through *‘ilm al-rijāl* in classical Islamic scholarship. However, this method is problematic since the reliability of these works is also in question. Therefore, he proposes that the answer can be found within the work of ‘Abd al-Razzāq.³⁷⁹

At this stage, Motzki postulates that if ‘Abd al-Razzāq had fabricated these traditions by arbitrarily ascribing them to these four informants (Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī and Ibn ‘Uyayna) ‘we would expect that the transmission structure of these four

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 3.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

groups of texts would be similar because they were put together at random - a procedure that Schacht proposed for certain links in the *asānīd*.³⁸⁰ However, his consequent detailed analysis demonstrates that 'each of these four collections of texts has quite an individual character. It seems very improbable that a forger arranging material in a specific order and labelling them falsely would have produced such highly divergent collections.'³⁸¹ On the basis of this finding Motzki rules out the possibility of fabrication and concludes that these materials are genuine compilations.³⁸²

In order to further strengthen his point, Motzki presents his supporting arguments which are derived from the language used in *Muṣannaf*: The compiler occasionally indicates uncertainty regarding the precise origin of a tradition and does not hesitate to admit this openly; for Motzki this is not a characteristic of a forged work, as a forger would have been hesitant to express such issues. In addition Motzki uses the biographical sources (only as a supporting argument) which concur with his own findings, hence further indicating that the sources are genuine.³⁸³

As was discussed in the first chapter, and as Motzki further articulates in his articles, there seem to be too many unanswered questions regarding the claims of *ḥadīth* forgery by the early Muslim scholars. The argument against the use of Muslim traditions seems to be unsubstantiated most of the time and a product of speculation that exceeds the boundaries of critical thinking.

Further, as opposed to the Schachtian school, which maintains that 'common link'³⁸⁴ is the fabricator of a certain tradition, Motzki believes in an alternative interpretation.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 4.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid., 4-5.

³⁸⁴ According to Juynboll common link "is the oldest transmitter mentioned in a bundle who passes the *ḥadīth* on to more than one pupil, or again in other terms: where an *isnād* bundle first starts fanning out," (G.H.A. Juynboll. "Some *Isnād* - Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Woman - Demeaning Sayings From *Ḥadīth* Literature." In *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, edited

According to him 'common link' represents 'the first major collectors and professional disseminators of traditions'.³⁸⁵ The reason for his assertion is that similar to Schacht, Motzki believes that most of the time, the transmission lines which came before the 'common link' are the real transmitters. Motzki then argues that if this is the case 'it is implausible to deny a priori and categorically that the common link could be a real transmitter as well'.³⁸⁶ However, he restricts reliable 'common links' to the generation of the successors and onwards, and also acknowledges that in some cases a 'common link' could be forging the traditions.³⁸⁷

Having studied Motzki's criticism of Juynboll, it might be pertinent to briefly mention Motzki's comments on Wansbrough's approach to Muslim traditions, especially *asānīd*. As we have examined extensively in the first chapter Wansbrough, advocates the study of the text (*matn*) of the traditions only and hence adheres to the first method in the above mentioned categorisation. Motzki, in his study of Wansbrough, first points out the similarities between the *isnād-cum-matn* and text analysis methods. He stresses that they are nevertheless trying to answer the same primary questions: 'Do the sources really derive from the persons to whom they are ascribed? Is there evidence for later additions, glosses etc.? Are the sources perhaps based on earlier sources, and can we reconstruct them?'³⁸⁸ Consequently, neither method is after questions that are much more difficult - if not impossible- to answer: 'What really happened in the first/seventh-century Arabia?' or 'what were the origins of Islam'.³⁸⁹

Despite the similarity in their goals, there are indeed fundamental differences between the two methods. Most significant is Wansbrough's insistence that *asānīd* are not historical evidence but 'literary devices' that were devised by Muslims long

by Harald Motzki, 28:175–216. *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*. Great Britain: Ashgate, 2004, p184.)

³⁸⁵ Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions," 238.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, vol. 78, *Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 287.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

after the events that they claim to report and thus cannot inform us about the origins of *mutūn* that they precede. Motzki's response to such a claim begins by questioning the evidence through which Wansbrough arrived at this adverse conclusion regarding Muslim traditions. Motzki claims that there is not a single work of Wansbrough in which he systematically engages with the *asānīd* and demonstrates that *asānīd* came into existence as a result of innovation.³⁹⁰ He further speculates that

Wansbrough's judgment is perhaps inspired by Goldziher's investigations of the *aḥādīth* but the latter did not examine *asānīd* either. It is not anchored in Joseph Schacht's study *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* because the latter was not as negative about *asānīd* and dated their origins almost a century earlier.³⁹¹

He then concludes that Wansbrough's conclusion is not justified and must have been derived from his biases. After discussing the reliability of *ḥadīth*, Motzki introduces his methodology, the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, which discusses *isnād* and *matn* of the traditions comparatively in order to establish the reliability of the traditions. The method involves two phases: The first is the examination of the *isnāds* (chains of transmission) of traditions, which was initially introduced by Schacht into Western academia and later on developed mostly by Juynboll. The second part consists of *matn* (text) analysis of traditions which is 'based on principles worked out in the historical disciplines to determine the origin of written transmissions (e.g. manuscripts), their development, and dependence on, or relation to, each other.'³⁹²

Motzki mentions that investigation of both *isnād* and *matn* of traditions was first emphasised in Jan Hendrik Kramers's article, '*Une tradition A tendance manicheenne*

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 78:289.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Harald Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's Muwaṭṭā' and Legal Traditions," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 22 (1998): 30.

(*La 'mangeuse de verdure'*),³⁹³ published in 1953, and Joseph van Ess' book *Zwischen Hadīth und Theologie*, published in 1975. At the time it was not well received in the academia. Yet the method has begun to re-emerge in recent times due to understanding that examination of both aspects of traditions can provide better results, as well as dissatisfaction with the present *isnād* analysis that is thought to be 'a too artificial interpretation of the *isnād* bundles.'³⁹⁴

The *isnād-cum-matn* method, Motzki describes, involves five different stages:

1. All the variants of a *ḥadīth* that are available need to be gathered together, 2. *Isnād* variations in the *ḥadīth* that is being treated need to be composed in the form of diagram so that the transmission process is documented and identifies a common link and partial common links³⁹⁵, 3. Then through a *matn* analysis it needs to be established that the identified common link was the real collector or the professional disseminator of the tradition. This stage also involves 'compiling the text belonging to the different transmission lines in order to make possible a synoptic comparison of one to the other'³⁹⁶, 4. In order to establish if there is a correlation, the gathered *matn* and *isnād* variants need to be compared, 5. If the correlation is established the analysis process is then able to conclude that the 'original *matn* transmitted by the common link and the one responsible for whatever changes have occurred in the course of the transmission after the common link.'³⁹⁷

Aside from these stages the method is also based on several principles: First, transmission variants that are being investigated are the result of a transmission process. Second, the variants of *isnāds* mirror (at least partially) the genuine chain

³⁹³ An English translation of the article was published in Motzki, Harald, ed. *Hadīth: Origins and Developments*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 245-257.

³⁹⁴ Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions," 250.

³⁹⁵ Juynboll describes partial common link as "transmitters who receive something from a common link (cl) (or any other sort of transmitter from a generation after the cl) and pass it on to two or more of their pupils..." (G.H.A. Juynboll. "Some Isnād - Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Woman - Demeaning Sayings From Ḥadīth Literature." In *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, edited by Harald Motzki, 28:175–216. The Formation of the Classical Islamic World. Great Britain: Ashgate, 2004, p.184)

³⁹⁶ Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions," 251.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

of transmission. For Motzki, 'the second premise follows from the experience that the different chains of transmission belonging to one and the same tradition more often than not have common links above the level of the authority to whom the tradition allegedly goes back.'³⁹⁸ Third, 'cases in which the textual affinity correlates with the common links in the *isnāds* are most probably instances of real transmission. If the *isnāds*, however, give the impression of a relationship between variants but the respective texts do not show it, it is to be concluded that either the *isnāds* and/or the texts of the traditions are faulty, either from carelessness of transmitters or because of intentional changes.'³⁹⁹

In short, the method is based on a comparative study of variant *isnād* and *matn* clusters with the aim of establishing a correlation between them. It seems the correlation between *matn* and *isnād* is crucial in the methodology as existence of such a correlation can then confirm the reliability or source value of a tradition. However, it should be noted that Motzki's main aim is not to authenticate the traditions, but to trace the traditions to a certain point in time or in other words he aims to date the traditions. This is based on his theory that whether authentic or not, traditions 'have a history'.⁴⁰⁰ Further, during the process of dating it might be possible, 'in very rare cases', to authenticate the traditions.⁴⁰¹

Finally, Motzki adds that that in this method the number of the variant narrations of a tradition is important as the more diversity of variants is available, the healthier the conclusion of the analysis.⁴⁰² But the variation should not be limited to the *isnāds*; in order to be able to establish the authenticity of a tradition, there should be textual variation of the same tradition. This is based on the assumption that 'if reports are handed down from one generation to another, they are bound to

³⁹⁸ Harald Motzki, "Murder of Ibn Abī l-Huqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghazī-Reports / Harald Motzki," in *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources*, ed. Harald Motzki (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 174.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

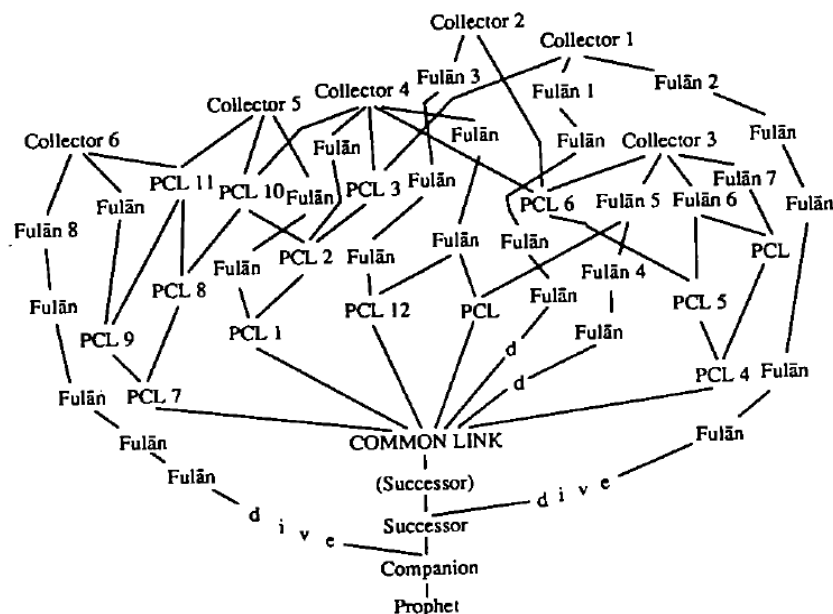
⁴⁰⁰ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:235.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions," 251.

change.⁴⁰³ This, Motzki continues, becomes more visible in the cases of the oral transmission. The changes or distortions of the text are reduced when the text is recorded in written format or 'standardized' and as far as Islamic history is concerned, standardisation of transmission developed gradually during the first three Islamic centuries. Therefore, he argues that the variations in the text must have been more significant in the early periods but would have been less in the later periods.⁴⁰⁴

Diagram 1⁴⁰⁵



Motzki's method, as he successfully argues, is the most complete method in comparison to other methodologies as it provides a holistic approach and makes use of every available piece of evidence in order to assess the traditions. However,

⁴⁰³ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:91.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ The diagram illustrates the terminology used in the *isnād* analysis; Motzki agrees with some of the terminology but reject the term 'dive'. (G.H.A. Juynboll, "Nāfi", the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature," *Der Islam* 70 (1993): 208.)

although it is stronger in comparison to other methods, as Motzki acknowledges, the method is not foolproof and needs to be improved further.

In this regard, Motzki states that his method is not immune to problems and mistakes and certainly is not able to come up with an impeccable analysis of some traditions. This is due to the fact that there is a lack of availability of the sources from the early period of Islam and the fact that all methods of dating sources 'must rely on assumptions derived from other sources'.⁴⁰⁶

According to Motzki, the first issue cannot be resolved but the second issue is open to more discussion. He believes that there is no way to avoid assumptions in dating the early sources and there is a need to acquire 'more concrete assumptions' to improve the method:

Dating traditions is not possible without having recourse to assumptions. They can be partly derived from general human experience, but partly more concrete assumptions are needed: for instance, on the dimensions of fabrication and falsification in the field of Ḥadīth on the ways how knowledge was transmitted in the first two centuries of Islam; on the nature of the common links and single strands etc. In addition, all these assumptions must take into consideration that there may have been variation in time and place.

Yet even by relying on 'more concrete assumptions', Motzki argues, the reliability of the dating of the early Islamic sources still depends on the preconceptions of individual scholars and the choices they make:

The concrete assumptions mentioned can be based on different source material (e.g., reports on fabrications or on the ways how traditions were transmitted by different persons), but these assumptions will always be generalisations based on a limited number of particular facts. Depending on which facts we generalise, the views on the cultural history of early Islam can be very different. Therefore, whether the dating of a tradition is

⁴⁰⁶ Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions," 252.

considered reliable or not, depends not only on the dating methods applied, but also on our preconceptions of early Islam which we have formed.⁴⁰⁷

What Motzki means by 'more concrete assumptions', as he demonstrates in his article, is that some scholars tend to pick a small anecdote⁴⁰⁸ in the history of Islam and build an entire theory on it. The question in such a circumstance is why a scholar relies on a small anecdote to build a 'rule' which then discredits an entire corpus of traditions that could have been a valuable source for discovering an important part of history. The reason for such an approach might be that perhaps the anecdote feeds the preconceptions of a scholar or s/he has only an anecdote that backs up his/her preconceptions. In either case, what Motzki seems to argue is that 'assumptions' should rely on more substantial data which is at the disposal of scholars.

The *isnād-cum-matn* method in the assessment of the Sunnī traditions regarding the collection of the Qur'ān

In terms of the implementation of this methodology, Motzki's article entitled '*The Collection of the Qur'ān. A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments*' is probably the most relevant to this study. This is because in the article Motzki analyses Sunnī traditions using his method. Therefore, the article is crucial in terms of understanding Motzki's approach to the history of the collection of the Qur'ān as well as witnessing the implementation of the method in a very relevant subject.

In this article, Motzki is in search of the answer to a question that is the outcome of a generally accepted view that the Qur'ān contains Muḥammad's revelations that

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 253.

⁴⁰⁸ In the same article Motzki criticises Cook for relying on an anecdote to establish a general rule in relation to Schacht's theory of 'backward growth of *isnāds*'. The anecdote reports that 'Amr b. Dīnār ascribes a saying to Ibn 'Abbās; however, when he was questioned by a scholar about the tradition he admitted that he received it from an informant who did not specify if it was narrated by Ibn 'Abbās. This sole incident prompts Cook to devise the following rule: 'Where one *Isnād* only reaches to A and a second goes back through him to his teacher, then given the values of the system we are entitled to suspect the higher *isnād* is secondary, rather than the other way around'. p.231

were promulgated at the turn of the 7th century AD: 'Where does this piece of information come from?'⁴⁰⁹ For Motzki there are three possible scientific ways to find an answer to this crucial question: (1) 'the early Qur'ānic manuscripts', (2) 'the text of Qur'ān itself', (3) 'the Islamic tradition relating to the Qur'ān'. Having said that, he rules out the reliability of the first two sources on the grounds that the early manuscripts suffer from 'fragmentary character', and the difficulties of the Qur'ānic text and its limited reference to historical events.⁴¹⁰ He then proceeds to tackle the last source, which is evidently the one Motzki favours, namely 'the Islamic tradition relating to Qur'ān'. His understanding of 'Islamic tradition' is a very broad one that includes any kind of exegetical and historical traditions which might provide background information on the Qur'ān.⁴¹¹

Motzki allocates a considerable part of the study to pointing out inconsistencies in the approach of Western scholars to Islamic sources. His main target is the adherents of the Wansbrough school who categorically deny the idea that the Islamic traditions can be utilised to establish the history of the Qur'ān. This was a new trend in Western academia as earlier scholars, i.e. Ignaz Goldziher and Joseph Schacht, did not doubt that the Qur'ān was the work of Muḥammad, and regarded it as the most reliable source in terms of reflecting his life and preaching, albeit their scepticism about the integrity of Muslim *ḥadīth* literature.

The reason why Motzki takes great pains to refute the arguments of these scholars is the fact that he supports 'the historical reliability of the Islamic tradition, at least in its essential points.'⁴¹² What he means by this is that there are indeed some *aḥādīth* that were fabricated but there are also many authentic traditions in the Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus, which are needed in order to recover the history of Islam and the Qur'ān. He maintains that W. Montgomery Watt took this position and assumed

⁴⁰⁹ Harald Motzki, "The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Development," 2.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 4.

⁴¹² Ibid.

that *Sīra* contains 'a basic core of material which is sound'. Watt believed that 'it would be impossible to make sense of the historical material of the Qur'ān without assuming the truth of this core'.⁴¹³ In this regard, Motzki argues, the task of the scholar is to identify the 'true core' of the traditions through appropriate methods. Motzki contends that Watt's methodology was lacking the necessary sophistication to address this question.⁴¹⁴ However, he maintains that the *isnād-cum-matn* method has the necessary sophistication to tackle the issue.

Further, the new developments in *ḥadīth* studies over the last two decades have also increased the accuracy of Motzki's method in relation to assessing the traditions regarding the early history of the Qur'ān: New *ḥadīth* sources have become accessible to the scholars: *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* written by Abū 'Ubayd b. al-Salām (d. 224/838), *Tafsīr* of 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827) and the first part of *al-Jāmi'* written by 'Abdallāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812)⁴¹⁵. These sources are earlier than al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, which most of the traditions regarding the early history of the Qur'ān were based on. The first two works contain versions of the traditions that are mentioned in al-Bukhārī's work, and these versions are 'as complete as those of al-Bukhārī without being identical with one of them'.⁴¹⁶

For Motzki, the new sources are particularly important for tracing 'Uthmān's official edition of the Qur'ān. A single complete tradition that mentions 'Uthmān's edition did not exist in the earlier sources. However, similar accounts of the tradition were found in the newly discovered sources. In this regard, a version of the tradition which is slightly different than that which existed in *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, is reported in Abū 'Ubayd's *Faḍā'il*. Considering the date of the compilation of the source, the information proved that 'The traditions on the history of the *muṣḥaf* must have been in circulation before the end of the 2nd century A.H. at the latest'.⁴¹⁷ Motzki

⁴¹³ Ibid., 4–5.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 16.18–19.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 20.

emphasises that this result is achieved without *isnād* analysis; with the help of *isnād* analysis, they could be traced back to an even earlier date.

The finding is ground-breaking in the field of quranic studies as it refutes earlier works and theories regarding the history of the Qur'ān, which have been discussed in the first chapter of this paper. As has been covered earlier, the conspicuous view has been that which was advocated by the Wansbrough school, that the quranic text came into existence two hundred years after Muḥammad. With the help of the new methodology Motzki has proven the existence of a copy of the Qur'ān at a much earlier date.

Motzki then shows how he reaches this conclusion. In his quest to examine the relevant traditions, Motzki includes the traditions about Abū Bakr's and 'Uthmān's collection of the Qur'ān. He first takes on the traditions regarding Abū Bakr's collection and identifies all the accounts of the traditions in the sources. Due to the availability of the traditions in many sources he decides to treat them in two periods: The first period includes *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* works which were compiled up to 256/870 (al-Bukhārī's death) and the second period includes *ḥadīth* works whose authors lived until 316/929 (death of the last *ḥadīth* compiler Abū Dāwūd).⁴¹⁸

The compilation of all the traditions in the first period sources produces 15 different transmission lines that are all traced back to a single transmitter: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742).⁴¹⁹ Motzki identifies him as the common link. After him a single strand through Ibn al-Sabbāq reaches to the Zayd b. Thābit, the apparent narrator of the tradition. In his treatment of the *isnāds*, Motzki produces a diagram of the informants and identifies partial common links in the *isnāds*.

He does the same for the *isnāds* that exist in the sources of second period and produces 14 different transmission lines. He then concludes that they are the same

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

in the sense that they are all traced back to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who is the common link. The two periods add up to 29 different transmission lines and all of them intersect at the same person, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. For Motzki the result can be interpreted in two ways: Either the *isnād* bundle points out to a real process of transmission, which means Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is the 'source' of the tradition, or the entire bundle is a fabrication and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is placed in the transmissions as a result of this fabrication process.⁴²⁰

However, Motzki rules out the second possibility on several grounds: First, he is not convinced that *isnād* fabrication took place on a great scale in the history of Islam. There are of course occurrences of fabrication 'but there are no indications that this was the general manner in which *isnāds* were developed systematically.'⁴²¹ Second, in the case of the tradition at hand, it would be too difficult to argue the existence of forgery since 'a great number of transmitters and collectors of traditions must have used exactly the same procedure of forgery'⁴²² which is highly unlikely. His final argument, which he views as the most important, is the clear connection between *isnād* and *matn*.

In a comparative analysis of *isnād* and *matn*, Motzki classifies them into groups of similar texts and each group is separated from the others according to some 'peculiarities'. He then notes that 'the different groups of *matns* coincide with the different groups of *isnāds*. Formulated alternatively, there is a *matn* group of Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd, another one of Yūnus, etc. which differ characteristically from one another.'⁴²³ Therefore, due to this close connection between *matns* and *isnāds*, he concludes that 'the common link is the result of a real transmission process.'⁴²⁴ If this conclusion is true, he asserts, it gives rise to another conclusion: Since the

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 26.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 27.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid., 27–28.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 28.

common link, al-Zuhrī, died in 124/742, this tradition must have been in existence in the first quarter of the second century A.H.⁴²⁵

Motzki then employs the same method on the traditions concerning the official collection of the Qurʾān by ʿUthmān. He gathers 22 transmission lines and all of them are traced back to the same reporter, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who emerges as the common link for these traditions as well. This again gives rise to the conclusion that the traditions regarding the official collection of the Qurʾān existed during the first quarter of the 2nd century A.H.⁴²⁶

Employment of the *isnād-cum-matn* method on fewer variant traditions

As we have witnessed in the example of the traditions regarding the compilation of the Qurʾān, the method is very well employed in the traditions that have many variants. However, Motzki has demonstrated elsewhere that the method can also be employed on traditions that have fewer variants.

In this regard Motzki's article entitled 'The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and Legal Traditions.'⁴²⁷ is a good example of the use of the *isnād-cum-matn* method on traditions that do not have many variants. His meticulous study of Mālik b. Anas' *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, was written in response to Norman Calder's claims in *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*,⁴²⁸ where it was argued that the book is not the work of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) and was produced in a much later period, around 270 (A.H.).⁴²⁹ Calder comes to his conclusion through presenting various arguments one of which is comparison of two works that are attributed to Mālik. In his comparative analysis of Mālik's works *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and *Mudawwana*, Calder notices

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 29.

⁴²⁷ Harald Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and Legal Traditions," 1998.

⁴²⁸ Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 37.

that a tradition⁴³⁰ narrated from the Prophet regarding the purity of cats and water that comes into contact with them, is included in *Muwaṭṭaʿ* but not included in *Mudawwana* when a similar issue comes into question. Therefore, he speculates that if the tradition is not included in *Mudawwana* it can be deduced that the tradition came into existence later than *Mudawwana*. Hence, Calder concludes that the notion that Mālik 'is personally responsible for the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* in its present form is unlikely. The book is clearly the product of organic growth; it needed time to grow.⁴³¹

In order to challenge Calder's allegation, Motzki undertakes assessment of the tradition to determine whether Mālik narrated the tradition about the purity of cats or not. To implement the *isnād-cum-matn* method he first identifies nine variants of the tradition that are narrated by Mālik. In addition, he also identifies a few variants allegedly transmitted by others: Four variants from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, two from Hishām b. 'Urwa, and one version from 'Alī b. al-Mubārak. He then takes on the comparison of the *asānīd* and *mutūn* of the different variants in search of similarities and differences within each variant. According to the result of his *isnād* analysis, the variants of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, Hishām b. 'Urwa and 'Alī b. al-Mubārak are independent from Mālik's version. This is due to the fact that Mālik's version of the *isnād* mentions the names of the female transmitters and it has one extra transmitter in its *isnād*. In the other three variants there is a female informant who is mentioned without her name, yet in Mālik's version she is identified as Ḥumayda bint 'Ubayd b. Rifā'a. In addition, according to the *isnād* of Mālik, she allegedly received the narration from Kabsha bint Ka'b b. Mālik who is reported to be the wife of Ibn abī Qatāda (who heard the narration from the Prophet).⁴³² In his further

⁴³⁰ [Yahyā] transmitted to me from Mālik, from Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. abī Ṭalḥa, from Ḥumayda b. abī 'Ubayda b. Farwa, from her aunt Kabsha b. Ka'b b. Mālik, who was married to Ibn abī Qatāda al-Anṣārī, that she [Kabsha] reported to her [Ḥumayda] that Abū Qatāda entered her house and she poured out for him water for the ablution. A cat came along to drink from it, and Abū Qatāda tilted the vessel so that it could drink. Kabsha said "He noticed that I observed him," and said "Are you surprised niece?" She answered "Yes!" He then said, "The Messenger of God said, 'They are not polluting (*innahā laysat bi-najas*), rather they belong to those [of your house] who frequent it, males or females (*innamā hiya min al-ṭawwāfīn 'alaykum aw al-ṭawwāfāt*)."

⁴³¹ Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, 35–36.

⁴³² Harald Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʿ* and Legal Traditions," 1998, 40–42.

investigation to understand the reason for this difference, Motzki observes that there was an error in reading the name of a transmitter; therefore, ‘Abd al-Razzāq tried to ‘correct’ it by introducing Kabsha bint Ka‘b b. Mālik to the *isnād* as the mother of Ḥumayda bint ‘Ubayd b. Rifā‘a and identified her as the wife of Abū Qatāda. He then speculates that he might have done the same thing for Mālik’s version, which he knew and transmitted.⁴³³

In terms of analysing the *matn* of the variants, in Motzki’s way of thinking if there were a fabrication process, then it should have involved copying variants from a master copy. In this case the master copy would have been Mālik’s version of the tradition which then should have been copied by others. However, *matn* analysis of the variants (Sufyān and Mālik) verifies that Mālik’s version is more established as it ‘gives a much better composed story, featuring an elaborate narrative, enriched with conversations.’⁴³⁴ Therefore, Motzki concludes that ‘It does not seem very probable that Sufyān’s *ḥadīth* could have had Mālik’s version as a model and source, and that it was invented afterwards in order to disguise the fact that Mālik was the real common link.’⁴³⁵

Upon making this assertion Motzki has a final question to answer regarding the partial resemblance of the two traditions. His answer is that the resemblance is an indication that the traditions must stem from a common source and since Mālik’s version is more complete, Sufyān’s version must have been an ‘abridged paraphrase’.⁴³⁶ Based on this analysis of the variants, Motzki concludes that Ishāq b. ‘Abdallāh b. abī Ṭalḥa (d. between 130/747 and 134/751) is the common link for the variants of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, Hishām b. ‘Urwa and ‘Alī b. al-Mubārak. However, since Mālik’s *matn* has more ‘improved narrative structure’ and more

⁴³³ Ibid., 42.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 45.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Harald Motzki, “The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik’s Muwaṭṭa’ and Legal Traditions,” 1998., 46.

improved *isnāds* than that of other versions, he was the source of the version that he narrated.⁴³⁷

In order to answer to Calder's claim that the tradition is developed from an 'anecdote'⁴³⁸ that reported the behaviour of Companion Abū Qatāda in relation to water that came into contact with a cat, Motzki examines the variants of the tradition which is reportedly narrated from the Companion Abū Qatāda. In these reports the Prophet is not mentioned; therefore, they are dealt with separately.

There are eight variants of the tradition and Motzki investigates them in order to determine whether they had existed before the narration of the Prophet that was dealt with above. If they existed before the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet then Calder's claim might be plausible. However, *isnād* and *matn* analysis of the three variants which were reported through 'Ikrima reveal that they were independently transmitted variants though 'Ikrima who is the common link for the variants.⁴³⁹ However, *isnād* and *matn* analysis of another version that was reported by Abū Qilāba reveals that the *matn* of the version is very similar to one of the versions of the 'Ikrima bundle despite differences in its *isnād*. This leads Motzki to suspect the authenticity of the version, as he believes that 'it is a rare coincidence if two persons relate the same incident independently of each other with the same words.'⁴⁴⁰ Therefore, after exhausting the possibility of a forgery, Motzki concludes that this version is a result of error.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 47.

⁴³⁸ Motzki finds no such anecdote in the sources he examines. Instead he finds several variants of the tradition that reports that Abū Qatāda performed ritual ablution with the water that came into contact with a cat. (Ibid., 53.)

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 59.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

Criticism of the method

Perhaps the most ambitious criticism⁴⁴² against the *isnād-cum-matn* method comes from Stephen J. Shoemaker in his considerably long and detailed study, entitled 'In Search of 'Urwa's Sīra: Some Methodological Issues in the Quest for "Authenticity" in the Life of Muḥammad'. In the article, Shoemaker's main aim is to challenge a number of works by Andreas Görke and Gregor Schoeler. In order to do so he inspects the method that they employed in their studies which argued the possibility that authentic traditions of the first century of the Hijra can be reconstructed. In their studies Görke and Schoeler made use of the *isnād-cum-matn* method which was developed at the same time by both Schoeler and Motzki independently of each other;⁴⁴³ therefore Shoemaker by bringing this method under scrutiny, also severely criticises Motzki's method on several grounds.

In this regard, the work is a very good example of the criticism of the method together with Christopher Melchert's, 'The Early History of Islamic Law',⁴⁴⁴ in English.⁴⁴⁵ In his work, Melchert criticises Motzki's use of 'single strands' of transmission as opposed to Juynboll's conclusion against usage of them. Therefore, it would perhaps be better to examine Juynboll's rationale through examining his own works. In his work entitled 'Some Isnād-Analytical Methods Illustrated on the

⁴⁴² For criticism of *isnād* analysis method and response to the criticism respectively see: Michael Cook. "Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions." edited by Harald Motzki, 28:217–241. *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*. Great Britain: Ashgate, 2004. and Andreas Görke. "Eschatology, History, and the Common Link: A Study in Method." In *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, edited by Herbert Berg, 49:179–2008. *Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003.

⁴⁴³ Schoeler's study *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds* (published in English in 2010 under the title *The Biography of Muḥammad: Nature and Authenticity*) had been published in the same year (1996) as Motzki's study "*Quo vadis Ḥadīṭ-Forschung*" (published in English in *Analysing Muslim Traditions*).

⁴⁴⁴ Christopher Melchert, "The Early History of Islamic Law," in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Herbert Berg, vol. 49, *Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 293–324.

⁴⁴⁵ For the criticism of the method in the German language see Schneider, Irene. "Narrativität Und Authentizität: Die Geschichte Vom Weisen Propheten, Dem Dreisten Dieb Und Dem Koranfesten Gläubiger." *Der Islam* 77, no. 1 (2000): 84–115. doi:10.1515/islm.2000.77.1.84. and for its rebuttal see Harald Motzki. *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīṭh*. Vol. 78. *Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.

Basis of Several Woman-Demeaning Sayings from Ḥadīth Literature.’ sets out the basic rule of his method that he devised to examine isnāds of Muslim traditions:

The more transmission lines there are, coming together in a certain transmitter, either reaching him or branching out from him, the more that moment of transmission, represented in what may be described as a ‘knot’, has a claim to historicity.^{446 447}

Furthermore, according to Juynboll, if the tradition has a single strand which means if a *ḥadīth* claimed to be transmitted from the Prophet by an individual (a Companion) and then to another person (a Successor) and then to another person (another Successor) which then finally reaches a common link and after that fans out, ‘the historicity of that strand of transmission can be considered hardly tenable’.⁴⁴⁸ Juynboll believes that these traditions are mostly fabricated and can lead to wrong conclusions regarding the dating and transmitters of *ḥadīth*.

Although Juynboll seems to have perfected the *isnād* criticism, the method in itself might lead to drastic conclusions. In this regard, in his iconic work entitled ‘Nāfi‘, the Mawlā of b. ‘Umar, and his Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature’⁴⁴⁹ he examines the traditions narrated from the Prophet through to Nāfi‘. In his *isnād* analysis of these traditions he discovers that most of these traditions are not reported by Nāfi‘ but by Mālik b. Anas. He also notes that despite the claims of Muslim sources which claim that Mālik b. Anas was a pupil of Nāfi‘ the historical evidence indicates that there is a very long time gap between the two and thus it is not the case. Therefore, these *ḥadīths* were fabricated.

⁴⁴⁶ G.H.A. Juynboll, “Some Isnād - Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Woman - Demeaning Sayings from Ḥadīth Literature,” in *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, ed. Harald Motzki, vol. 28, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World (Great Britain: Ashgate, 2004), 352.

⁴⁴⁷ See also G.H.A. Juynboll. “Nāfi‘, the Mawlā of Ibn ‘Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature.” *Der Islam* 70 (1993): 210-111.

⁴⁴⁸ G.H.A. Juynboll, “Some Isnād - Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Several Woman - Demeaning Sayings From Ḥadīth Literature,” 184–185.

⁴⁴⁹ G.H.A. Juynboll, “Nāfi‘, the Mawlā of Ibn ‘Umar, and his Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature.”

Going back to Shoemaker's work, he undertakes a long and detailed criticism of the works of Andreas Görke and Gregor Schoeler. The main pillar of Shoemaker's criticism, in which he concurs with Melchert, is the usage of single strand traditions. In principle he accepts that *isnād* criticism could be useful in examining Muslim traditions provided that the traditions that are examined have 'highly dense' *isnād* bundles.⁴⁵⁰ For Shoemaker the reasons why Juynboll advised against usage of single strands were important safeguards in the *isnād* analysis, yet Motzki (and others) did not hesitate to rely on single strands and derived conclusions from their analysis, which gave the impression that it is possible to authenticate some of the Islamic sources that appeared in the first century. However, for Shoemaker it is not possible to obtain such firm conclusions by the use of single strands, as they are not reliable. Therefore, he concludes that Motzki's decision to rely on them does not produce healthy results most of the time, and instead casts further doubts on the method.⁴⁵¹

In this regard, Motzki best summarises Juynboll's reasons for rejecting single strands. He believes that Juynboll, similar to Schacht, was under the assumption that there were irregularities in the structures of the Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus if it was the case that an uninterrupted process of passing the traditions from one generation to the next took place. In such a scenario the traditions should have divided into several branches right after the Prophet. Yet, most of the time this is not the case; rather they divide by a common link after the formation of a single strand that consists of three to four transmitters. Juynboll explains this abnormality by suggesting that in such a scenario, the common link is the forger of the tradition. He justifies this assertion by the naming of the informants through whom the information about the Prophet and his Companions was required during the third quarter of the first Islamic century (61-73/681-692). In other words, these traditions were projected back around this time due to the emerging requirements of the time, and this was the work of the common links. This premise led to Juynboll's overall

⁴⁵⁰ Stephen J. Shoemaker, "In Search of 'Urwa's Sīra: Some Methodological Issues in the Quest for 'Authenticity' in the Life of Muḥammad," *Der Islam* 85, no. 2 (January 2011): 292, doi:10.1515/islam.2011.006.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 266.

conclusion that single strands that include early transmitters, from the third quarter of the first Islamic century, are not reliable.^{452 453}

Nevertheless, Shoemaker acknowledges the successful application of the method on some early Islamic traditions by stating 'Schoeler and Görke have developed and deployed a very sophisticated method [the *isnād-cum-matn*] of analysis that represents perhaps the best effort thus far to identify early material within the *sira* traditions'.⁴⁵⁴ Yet, similarly to Melchert, he argues that 'while Motzki's analysis persuasively locates a number of traditions in the early second century, his efforts to press beyond this barrier are considerably less convincing'.⁴⁵⁵

Shoemaker also criticises Motzki for trying to establish a date for traditions that go further than the date of the common link, and further asserts that Motzki's attempt to date the traditions to an earlier date through an 'assumption' that common links indicate *terminus ante quem* is rather manipulative:

By assuming that the common link signals a *terminus ante quem* – in opposition to other scholars who more cautiously look to this figure as a *terminus post quem* – Motzki often presses aggressively beyond the date of the common link, occasionally mounting rather speculative arguments with special pleading to push traditions earlier into the first century.⁴⁵⁶

Shoemaker's suspicion of the *isnād-cum-matn* method leads him to the conclusion that the method falls short of providing any new information about the life of Muḥammad⁴⁵⁷ and therefore '*matn* criticism remains the most valuable tool for mining the early Islamic tradition to recover its oldest traditions'.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵² See G.H.A. Juynboll, "Nāfi", the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature."

⁴⁵³ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:50.

⁴⁵⁴ Shoemaker, "In Search of 'Urwa's Sira," 267.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 257.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 269.

Shoemaker's extensive and mostly harsh criticism of the three scholars, which went so far as to accuse them (Schoeler and Görke) of inventing *isnāds* in order to increase the number of lines of transmission,⁴⁵⁹ prompted a strong rebuttal from Motzki, Görke and Schoeler. In their equally extensive rebuttal entitled '*First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad? A Debate*',⁴⁶⁰ the trio defended themselves and provided a detailed criticism of Shoemaker's work. In the article, the three scholars separately respond to Shoemaker by raising different points, but they all conclude that Shoemaker's work, despite making some significant points, is replete with 'misunderstandings and inconsistencies'.⁴⁶¹

In their allocated chapters, Görke and Schoeler mostly focus on defending their own works and occasionally point out some of the methodological issues along with various inconsistencies in Shoemaker's work. In this regard, perhaps the most important inconsistency regarding Shoemaker's criticism, that they highlight, is Shoemaker's selective trust in the usage of *isnād* criticism and selective reliance on single strands: In the beginning of his work Shoemaker acknowledges the significance of Juynboll's method of *isnād* criticism, but then asserts that this method would only work if traditions are transmitted by a dense network of narrators. Basing on this judgement, Shoemaker severely criticises the works of the three scholars. Contrary to his belief in the unreliability of the single strands, Shoemaker occasionally deviates from his stance and considers two lines of transmission sufficient 'to ascribe a tradition possibly or likely to the common link...'.⁴⁶²

Another criticism against Shoemaker is that there is too much emphasis on *isnāds* in Shoemaker's criticism and his conclusion that the *isnād-cum-matn* method falls short of producing an accurate judgement regarding the authenticity of the traditions is

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 299.

⁴⁶⁰ Andreas Görke, Harald Motzki, and Gregor Schoeler, "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad? A Debate," *Der Islam* 89, no. 1–2 (January 2012): 2–59.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 5.

heavily based on his focus on the *isnāds*. Shoemaker seems to be forgetting that the method also involves *matn* analysis which enables one to compare various *isnāds* and *matns* in order to analyse traditions. However, Shoemaker ignores this aspect of the method, basing his judgement merely on a strict analysis of the *isnāds*, and then comes to the conclusion that the best way to analyse the early traditions is *matn* analysis.⁴⁶³

Therefore, Görke and Schoeler argue that Shoemaker's conclusion is rather hasty and far from engaging with the method as a whole. Moreover, his focus on the *isnāds* prevents him from grasping that although Juynboll's assertion that a reliable analysis of *isnāds* requires a dense network of transmitters may be correct if one only deals with *isnāds*, in the *isnād-cum-matn* method, different variants of traditions are also taken into consideration, thus there is no need for a dense network of transmitters: 'when taking into account the variants of the *matn*, secure statements about the interdependency of texts can already be made with a less dense network of transmitters'.⁴⁶⁴

Shoemaker's strongest criticism against the method was its reliance on the single strands yet, as mentioned above, his criticisms seem to be a repetition of Juynboll's views on the usage of single strands. But the criticisms have not been adjusted according to *isnād-cum-matn* analysis and therefore it ignores the crucial strength of the method, thus giving the impression that Shoemaker has not fully grasped the method.

In the final chapter of the article, Motzki finds opportunity to defend his method against Shoemaker. He believes Shoemaker was unfair in his criticism against him as he does not mention his justification of the method. As mentioned above, Motzki, in his various works has given a detailed reasoning for why he decided to modify Juynboll's *isnād* analysis and to make use of single strands in his method. Instead,

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 52.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 41.

what Shoemaker does is to rely on Christopher Melcherts' criticism of Motzki's method without elaborating on it. Melchert, in his article entitled 'The Early History of Islamic Law',⁴⁶⁵ lambasts Motzki's work '*Quo vadis Ḥadīṭ Forschung*'⁴⁶⁶ and belittles Motzki's *isnād-cum-matn* method for its use of single strands as he maintains that putting too much effort to authenticate a tradition⁴⁶⁷ which he thinks has no value for recovering history is a 'virtually worthless'⁴⁶⁸ endeavour. Motzki naturally does not agree with him, as he demonstrates that the tradition reveals at least three historical facts: 'the obligation of *zakāt al-fiṭr*, the type and quantity of alms, and the persons obliged to distribute alms. Therefore, Motzki remarks that 'the text is not virtually worthless'.⁴⁶⁹ Considering the scarcity of historic material about the early history of Islam, Melchert's remarks remain rather odd, as historians cannot afford to ignore texts even if they may seem to be 'worthless'. Nevertheless, as Motzki reemphasises, the text is certainly not worthless and reveals the existence of the institution of *zakāt al-fiṭr* at a very early period.

Motzki had already criticised Juynboll's explanation for discrediting the single strands on several grounds:

⁴⁶⁵ In his article Melchert concurs with Herbert Berg's criticism of Motzki in *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000.) However, Harald Motzki in his article entitled "The Question of the Authenticity of Muslim Traditions Reconsidered: A Review Article." (In *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, edited by Herbert Berg, 49:211–257. Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003.) demonstrates that Berg's work is mostly speculative and misleading as Berg is too rigid in his categorization of the different approaches ("skepticals" and "sanguines") to the sources which fails to acknowledge that some scholars (including Motzki) maintained a middle ground in the assessment of the sources.

⁴⁶⁶ The article was first published in German under the title "Quo vadis Ḥadīṭ-Forschung? Eine kritische Untersuchung von G.H.A. Juynboll: 'Nāfi' the mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim ḥadīth literature'." (Motzki, Harald. "Quo Vadis, Ḥadīṭ-Forschung? Eine Kritische Untersuchung von G.H.A. Juynboll: Nāfi' the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīṭ Literature". *Der Islam* 73, no. 1 (1996): 40–80. doi:10.1515/islam.1996.73.1.40.) and then translated into English and re-published under the title "Whither Ḥadīth Studies?" in Harald Motzki. *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*. Vol. 78. Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.

⁴⁶⁷ 'The Messenger of God made the almsgiving of the fast-breaking (*zakāt/sadaqat al-fiṭr*) a duty, a sa' dates or a sa' barley for each freeman or slave...'

⁴⁶⁸ Christopher Melchert, "The Early History of Islamic Law," 303.

⁴⁶⁹ Görke, Motzki, and Schoeler, "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad?," 43.

First, it does not explain Juynboll 's observation that common links are not usually found at the level of the "Successors" (*tābi 'ūn*) but one or more generations later. Second, the general conclusion that the common links must be the fabricators of their single strands which are, therefore, historically unreliable seems to be questionable.⁴⁷⁰

Motzki expands his first point by arguing that if one accepts Juynboll's premise that the *isnāds* came into existence only at around the third quarter of the Islamic calendar, and thus single strand *isnāds* that contain transmitters which are earlier than this date are products of later fabrication, then common links that come just before the single strands must have been from the level of the 'Successors' (*tābi 'ūn*). However, studies have shown that in such cases common links have been found not at the level of the Successors but one or more generations later.⁴⁷¹ In addition, Juynboll fails to identify the real common links which consequently lead him to wrong conclusions.⁴⁷²

As for Juynboll's second point, Motzki avers that that the process of *isnāds* taking place in the third quarter of the first century does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the early transmissions are invented.⁴⁷³ As a matter of fact Motzki believes that

Single strands are, thus, the consequence of the fact that the early collectors – unlike later ones – usually gave only one source (and thereby only one *isnād*) for a tradition. The reason may have been that they only transmitted those traditions that they considered to be the most reliable and/or that there was as yet no requirement that several authorities and their informants be cited.^{474 475}

⁴⁷⁰ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:51.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 78:50–51.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 78:51.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 78:52.

⁴⁷⁵ In the same article Motzki provides a much more detailed reasoning for his reliance on the single strands.

But accepting the possibility that the single strand traditions might be authentic (of course with the possibility that they may also be the product of a fabrication process) gives rise to a question: Was there any transmission before the common link? For Motzki the answer is affirmative, as there could be an actual informant or an alleged informant.⁴⁷⁶ This answer is based on Motzki's approach to the science of *ḥadīth* that unless otherwise proven, *ḥadīths* should be considered genuine historical evidences and the burden of proof must be on the scholars to establish them as inauthentic. Hence, contrary to Schacht and Juynboll, he maintains that the transmission process is not limited to only after the common link as it did take place even before the common link.⁴⁷⁷

This answer on the other hand prompts another question: How can the single strand be explained before the common link? Motzki answers this question by suggesting that the common links were the first great collectors; they collected their material in a certain region and disseminated it in a scholarly manner. Their material has survived. Transmissions that were not absorbed or spread further by these collectors were either lost or continued to exist as oral or written transmissions outside the school-system or the great centres of learning (for example as family traditions). The hidden existence of transmissions enabled later collectors to discover transmission lines that do not run through the common links or the scholars of the great centres of learning.⁴⁷⁸ Further, he argues that it is a misconception to believe that a single strand is a result of a process in which single transmitters passed a tradition to each other until it reached a common link from whom it fanned out. Instead it simply means that —if it is genuine— 'a later collector names of chain of transmitters for a tradition that does not cross the strands of the other known collectors.'⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:214.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 78:58.

Finally, Motzki stresses that the use of single strand traditions are not warranted unconditionally. Single strand traditions are only allowed to be included in the investigation 'if these texts diverge from those of the partial common link (PCL) transmitters.⁴⁸⁰ As a matter of fact, Juynboll believes that pcls are essential for establishing the historicity of a bundle, and lack of pcl amounts to fabrication of traditions.⁴⁸¹

Further, Motzki notes the improbability of Juynboll's theory that only traditions that are widely transmitted can be considered authentic. Motzki asserts that there are only several hundred traditions in the Muslim *ḥadīth* corpus that were widely transmitted and on the other hand there are thousands of traditions that do not fit into this category of transmission but, he implies, can historians afford to disregard this colossal amount of historical data just because it seems to be more convenient to do so? 'Is it truly realistic? Is it really "logical" or methodologically sound to dismiss the historicity of all single strands simply because there are some strands which are linked up in a network?'⁴⁸² He then produces a quick test for the plausibility of the assumption that Juynboll put forward. In such a scenario, if a common link passed a tradition to five people who were from the first generation, the reporters should multiply in each generation. Consequently, by the fifth generation the number of transmitters should reach three-thousand one hundred and twenty-five⁴⁸³ and this is highly unrealistic.

Returning to Shoemaker's work, Motzki notices serious errors in his understanding of the *isnād-cum-matn* method. Although Shoemaker's brief description of the method is correct, when it comes to implementation of the method Shoemaker fails to detect the difference among other methods. In his article Shoemaker references one of the

⁴⁸⁰ Görke, Motzki, and Schoeler, "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad?," 44.

⁴⁸¹ G.H.A. Juynboll, "Nāfi", the Mawlā of B. 'Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature," 211.

⁴⁸² Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:55.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

works of Motzki entitled '*The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools*' and singles it out to be the work in which Motzki's method 'has been most thoroughly applied'.⁴⁸⁴ Yet, Motzki notes that in this work he did not employ the *isnād-cum-matn* method; instead he employed 'the source reconstruction method', which is not based on 'single traditions but on a multiplicity of textually discrete traditions attributed in a source or collection to one and the same transmitter'.⁴⁸⁵ The error seems to be significant as it is another indication of Shoemaker's shortcoming in grasping the practical implementation of the method despite his theoretical knowledge of it.

In terms of Shoemaker's assumption that all the common links fabricated the names of reporters they mention, and that unknown people circulated all the Islamic traditions that he believes to be 'rumors and legends', Motzki reiterates his position that this kind of approach does not make sense to him. Although he believes some of the common links did not know from whom they had heard certain traditions and therefore named the most likely source, some of them still possessed the knowledge of from whom they had heard the tradition first. In this case he considered the common link as a *terminus ante quem*.⁴⁸⁶ Motzki also accepts the possibility that the common link might have invented some of the *matn* or *isnād* of traditions themselves. He notes that 'It might be difficult to find out what really happened but there are cases where the evidence points to one of these possibilities'⁴⁸⁷ and his method is designed to investigate the evidences and then identify the best possibility.

Motzki further takes on Shoemaker's criticism of his effort to identify the source of stories about the murder of the Jew Ibn abī al-Ḥuqayq.⁴⁸⁸ In his meticulous examination of various variants of the story with the application of the *isnād-cum-*

⁴⁸⁴ Görke, Motzki, and Schoeler, "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad?," 44.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Harald Motzki, "Murder of Ibn Abi I-Huqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghazi-Reports / Harald Motzki."

matn method, he establishes that al-Zuhrī spread one of these stories and is the common link.⁴⁸⁹ Due to the 'complex transmission history' of the *isnāds* of the variants, Shoemaker reluctantly accepts Motzki's finding. However, Shoemaker vigorously rejects Motzki's attempt to go one step further and find out about al-Zuhrī's source for this particular story. After comparative examination of the variants of the long and detailed tradition Motzki concludes that the source of al-Zuhrī is Ka' b b. Mālik's children.⁴⁹⁰

Motzki justifies his conclusion with two piece of evidence: First, it is noticeable that al-Zuhrī's isnād is defective in most of the variants, i.e., it ends with his informant's name(s) and does not name an eyewitness to the event or, at least, a Companion of the Prophet who may have heard the story from an eyewitness. Second, the information from Islamic sources says the Ka' b b. Mālik family was part of the same clan as Ibn abī al-Ḥuqayq's murderers, namely, the Banū Salima.⁴⁹¹

Shoemaker argues that the conclusion is wrong as the names of the sources are mentioned differently in different variants; therefore this might be an indication of 'later transmitters' effort to extend the *isnād* back to al-Zuhrī's source. As for the connection between the Ka' b family and Ibn abī al-Ḥuqayq's murder, Shoemaker again argues that 'the authors of the Islamic history' may have invented the story.⁴⁹²

In return, Motzki asks some simple questions which reiterate his position on similar allegations put forward by the adherents of the Schacht and Wansbrough school:

Who are the "later transmitters" and the "early authors" of the Islamic history? Are they al-Zuhrī's students, later transmitters or the compilers of anthologies in which the variant traditions are found? Are Shoemaker's vague

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 195.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 231.

⁴⁹¹ Görke, Motzki, and Schoeler, "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad?," 46–47.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 47.

speculations reasonable in light of the names evidenced by multiple variants of the tradition?⁴⁹³

Motzki yet again spots an important inconsistency or weakness in the arguments of these types of approaches to the Islamic sources in the face of well conducted research and strong evidence, throwing out speculations without mentioning names or any other supporting historical data.

Concluding comments

Motzki continues to point out discrepancies in Shoemaker's criticism but what we have seen so far is perhaps sufficient to understand the kind of criticism the *isnād-cum-matn* receives and the response of Motzki himself and those who employ this method. One of the main criticisms of the method was its use of single strands. According to Motzki the criticism of the use of single strands stems from the preconception that Muslim traditions were fabricated. However, Motzki justifies the use of single strands by considering their emergence as a natural process.

The second criticism has arisen due to the misunderstanding that the method merely relies on *isnād* analysis. This is also not justified since the method also analyses the *matn* and reaches its conclusions based on the correlation between *isnād* and *matn*. Having said that, Motzki concedes that the lack of availability of early Muslim sources and involvement of the element of 'assumption' in the process of dating early sources causes major problems for the method. Motzki notes that although assumptions are inevitable, the issue may be remedied by relying on more substantial data in order to reach the assumptions. On the other hand, Motzki states that the first issue cannot be remedied.

However, as this thesis will demonstrate, the study of Shī'ite sources can provide additional sources to the disposal of the method, and hence remedy (at least partly)

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

the issue of lack of availability of sources. In the following Chapter, I will show that the study of Shī'ite sources (together with Sunni sources) locates 31 more variants regarding the history of the collection of the Qur'ān. This number is quite satisfactory and provides a good opportunity to implement the method on the traditions.

Finally I can conclude, about the significance of the method, that it proves itself to be convincing and at present stands out as the most useful tool in dating and assessing the authenticity of the early Islamic sources. Unlike the alternative methods, due to its holistic approach to the traditions it does not miss out on a single piece of evidence and processes both *isnād* and *matn* in order to come up with tangible conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE

In the remaining parts of the thesis we will be analysing variants of all the traditions regarding ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collection of the Qur’ān. The traditions that will be treated in the following chapters represent all the available traditions that mention the collection/collation of the Qur’ān by ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib that I could find in the early Shī’ite and Sunnī sources. There is no classification in the selection of the sources aside from occasionally naming the Sunnī and Shī’ite sources. In order to provide a fair treatment of the subject I have included any early text that contains relevant traditions on the issue. The traditions related to the issue were reported on the authority of four people: ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib, Ibn Sīrīn, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. We will examine each group of variants in a different section.

Muḥammad Hādī Ma‘rifat, in his research, had found around 10 traditions on the issue. Shehzad Saleem added around 11 more variants to what Ma‘rifat had already found and thus increased the number of the variants to 21. Finally, my research finds seven more variants and brings the total number up to 28 variants. There are three more traditions on the issue but we could not fit them into any of the groups, consequently decided to exclude them from the analysis. I have excluded a few later variants or the variants that were copied from books.

TRADITIONS ATTRIBUTED TO MUḤAMMAD AL-BĀQIR

In the introduction to his article, entitled ‘The Murder of Ibn abī l-Ḥuqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some *Maghāzī* Reports,’ Motzki summarises ‘special biases’ by which Western scholars deal with the Muslim sources regarding the life of the Prophet. For Motzki, one of the most important biases being held against the Muslim sources is that ‘The background is theological, in that the traditions tried to create a

specific theology of history, or in that the Muslims simply tended to put a halo around the founder of their religion.’⁴⁹⁴

He then rationalises his reasons for choosing the subject of his article, which is to ‘reduce the risk of bias’:

Instead I choose an episode which is rather marginal in the *sīra*: The expedition of a group of Anṣār to kill Abū Rāfi‘ Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq, a Jew living (according to some of the sources) at Khaybar. The Prophet himself does not even play a central role in this event, which seems not to be religiously problematic, at least not from the Muslim point of view.⁴⁹⁵

In other words, he wanted to avoid studying controversial issues or central events of the Meccan period in order to circumvent the bias. In this respect, studying traditions regarding ‘Alī’s compilation of the Qur’ān is certainly what Motzki would have wanted to avoid in this particular article.⁴⁹⁶ There is ample ground for bias on the subject. Although ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib was not the founder of the religion and therefore certainly did not occupy a similar status in the eyes of Muslims in general, he is believed to be the first divinely appointed Imām of the Shī’ites and thus has certainly been a central figure in Shī’ism. Hence, the same bias that ‘the traditions tried to create a specific theology of history’ might fit well against the traditions concerning him.

In this regard, it could well be argued that the collection of the Qur’ān by ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib soon after the demise of the Prophet would have been an appealing idea for some Shī’ites who could have used it as further proof of ‘Alī’s merits and proximity to the Prophet. Likewise, the premise that all the other caliphs either commissioned

⁴⁹⁴ Harald Motzki, “Murder of Ibn Abī l-Huqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghazi-Reports / Harald Motzki,” 171.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 172.

⁴⁹⁶ In his other articles, however, he does not avoid studying controversial issues. See Harald Motzki, “The Collection of the Qur’ān. A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments.” *Der Islam* 78, no. 1 (2001): 1–34.

or possessed their own copies of the Qur'ān, hence depriving 'Alī from the same privilege, would have certainly diminished the Shī'ite claim for 'Alī's divine right for political and religious leadership or *Imāma*.

Considering the political and religious profits that one can accumulate through compiling a personal copy of the Qur'ān, some followers of 'Alī must have been troubled by the lack of similar esteemed status. Consequently, it might not be a remote possibility that some concerned Shī'ites would have thought of averting such a peril by fabricating traditions like the ones that will be treated in this chapter. Nevertheless, without a rigorous study of the traditions it would not be possible to prove or disprove these hypotheses.

In the rest of thesis, we will be examining these traditions to see if there is a ground for such a bias or the Shī'ite claims regarding 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān. In this regard, we will first take on traditions that were attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth Imām who appears in the traditions with the *kunya* (tekonym) Abū Ja'far. We have divided these traditions into three groups due to their similarities of their *mutūn* (texts).

Group one variants

Among the traditions, those that are attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who appears in the traditions with the *kunya* (tekonym) Abū Ja'far, seem to be problematic. The other traditions attributed to 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Ibn Sīrīn in general contain a clear reference to the event of 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān. Despite their differences, the central theme in the traditions is that soon after the demise of the Prophet 'Alī took an oath that he would not leave his house until he collects the Qur'ān and after spending some time at his house he fulfilled his oath.

However, the traditions attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir are in statement format and unlike other traditions do not give an account of the event. Further, some of the variants of the traditions attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir make it difficult to accept that these variants refer to the physical collection of the Qur'ān. This is due to the

fact that the word *jamaʿ*, which is used in all the variants, gives the impression that it refers to the general Shīʿite belief about the true and definitive understanding of the Qurʾān which can only be grasped by the Imāms. Yet two of the variants (group two variants) challenge this perception by suggesting that the traditions refer to a physical collection of the Qurʾān by ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib. Most importantly, unlike the other five variants, the two variants have a strong sectarian undertone. Thus, the focus of this chapter, aside from the dating the variants, will be to examine the peculiar characteristics noted in the two variants and to discover the cause of the incongruity in the variants.

Among the seven traditions that we have gathered recorded in some of the earliest Shīʿite texts, four variants were recorded in Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār's (d.290/903) *Baṣāʾir al-Darajāt*, two variants in Abu Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī's, (d.329/941) *Al-Kāfi fī ʿIlm al-Dīn*, and one variant is recorded in ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī's (d. 307/980) *Tafsīr al-Qummī*. In order to make the reading easier I have divided these traditions into three groups based on the similarities of their *mutūn* (texts).

Isnād analysis:

One of the traditions that is used as evidence for ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib's collection of the Qurʾān was narrated from Muḥammad al-Bāqir (57/676-114/733), the fifth Shīʿite Imām who was a descendant of the Prophet along with ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib.

The oldest written record of the tradition can be traced back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī's *Baṣāʾir al-Darajāt*:

1. Al-Saffār's Version (S1):

Ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn ʿan Muḥammad bin Sinān ʿan
ʿAmmār bin Marwān ʿan al-Munakhhāl ʿan Jābir ʿan Abī Jaʿfar: Mā

yastaṭī‘u aḥadun an yadda‘ī annahu jama‘a al-Qur‘ān kullahu zāhirahu wa
bāṭinahu ghayru al-awṣiyā’.^{497 498}

In the tradition, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir ostensibly informs his audience about the collation of the Qur‘ān by the Imāms. The tradition was quoted in the influential *tafsīr* work of an *akhbārī* scholar, Baḥrānī’s (d. 1695) *al-Burhān fī Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*⁴⁹⁹. Baḥrānī mentions the tradition as the first tradition in the work. The *matn* of the narration is identically quoted in *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā’il Āl Muḥammad* but the chain of the narration is skipped and only the name of the narrator, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, is given. However, on page thirty-three of the same book, the tradition is mentioned again with full *isnād* that also includes the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, the author of *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt*.⁵⁰⁰

A very prominent scholar of the 17th century, Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, (d. 1616–1698) also includes the tradition in his monumental work *Biḥār al-Anwār*.⁵⁰¹ The tradition was clearly quoted from *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā’il Āl Muḥammad*. In his other work, entitled *Mir‘āt al-‘Uqūl fī Sharḥ Akhbār Āl al-Rasūl*, Majlisī again mentions the same narration yet this time there are slight differences in the *isnād* and *matn* of the tradition:

Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn ‘an Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan ‘an Muḥammad bin
Sinān ‘an ‘Ammār bin Marwān ‘an al-Munakkkhal ‘an Jābir ‘an Abī Ja‘far,
annahu qāla: Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun an yadda‘ī anna ‘indahū jamī‘a al-
Qur‘ān kullihī zāhirihi wa-bāṭinihi ghayru al-awṣiyā’⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā’il Āl Muḥammad*, 2nd ed. (Qum: Āyatullāh Mar‘ashī Najafī Library, 1983), 193.

⁴⁹⁸ No one is able to claim to have collected the Qur‘ān -in its entirety- inwardly and outwardly except the trustees.

⁴⁹⁹ Sayyid Hashīm b. Sulaymān Baḥrānī, *Al-Burhān fī Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, vol. 1, 8 vols. (Qum, Iran: Muassasa al-Ma‘ārif al-Islāmī, 1992).

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:33.

⁵⁰¹ Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 89 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1982), 88.

⁵⁰² Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Mir‘āt al-‘Uqūl fī Sharḥ Akhbār Āl al-Rasūl*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1983), 32.

The work is a commentary on al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, in which Majlisī grades the traditions that al-Kulaynī had reported. Therefore we can infer that Majlisī took this version from al-Kulaynī. In a short comment, Majlisī considers the tradition *ḍa'īf* (weak) and explains that the word *ẓāhir* (outward) refers to the wording of the Qur'ān and the word *bāṭin* (inward) refers to the meaning of the Qur'ān.⁵⁰³

Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn^{504 505} was written by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī (250/864-329/941). Al-Kulaynī is known to be the most important *ḥadīth* collector of the Shī'ite faith and the book is considered to be the most authentic *ḥadīth* collection. However, unlike the Sunnīs there are no canonical books in the Shī'ite school of thought and thus the book is not considered to be entirely authentic.

In *al-Kāfī* the traditions is written as follows:

2. Al-Kulaynī's version (K1):

Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn 'an Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn 'an Muḥammad bin Sinān 'an 'Ammār bin Marwān 'an al-Munakhkhal 'an Jābir 'an Abī Ja'far, 'alayhī al-salām, annahu qāla: Mā yastaṭī'u aḥadun an yadda'ī anna 'indahū jamī'a al-Qur'ān kullihī ẓāhirihi wa-bāṭinihi ghayru al-awṣiyā'.^{506 507}

There is a third version of the tradition mentioned in *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*. The text of the tradition resembles the two other versions (although it is shorter), but the *isnād* is very different save the existence of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn in it:

3. Al-Ṣaffār's version (S2):

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn* (Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2008).

⁵⁰⁵ For more detailed studies of *al-Kāfī* see Robert Gleave. "Between Ḥadīth and Fiqh: The 'Canonical' Imāmī Collections of Akhbār." *Islamic Law and Society*, Hadith and Fiqh, 8, no. 3 (2001): 350–82.

and Andrew J. Newman. *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism*. Surrey: Curzon, 2000,

⁵⁰⁶ Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, vol. 1 (Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2008), 566.

⁵⁰⁷ No one is able to claim that he possesses the collection of the *Qur'ān* in its entirety, with its inward and outward [meaning], except the trustees.

Ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn ‘an al-Naḍr bin Shu‘ayb ‘an ‘Abd al-Ghaffār: Ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn ‘an al-Naḍr bin Shu‘ayb ‘an ‘Abd al-Ghaffār:
 Sa‘ala rajulun Abā Ja‘far (a) fa-qāla Abū Ja‘far *mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun yaqūl jama‘a al-Qur‘ān kullahu ghayr al-awṣiyā’*⁵⁰⁸⁵⁰⁹

Based on the result of the preliminary investigation, we discover that there are three early versions of the tradition mentioned in the works that were written in the 3rd Islamic century: *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā’il Āl Muḥammad* and *al-Kāfī fī ‘Ilm al-Dīn*. Hence we will investigate the *asānīd* and *mutūn* (texts) of these three versions with the purpose of dating them.

We will begin by investigating the first tradition of al-Ṣaffār together with al-Kulaynī’s as their *asānīd* and *mutūn* are very similar. Upon investigating the two traditions we will then take on the second tradition of al-Ṣaffār. In order to avoid confusion we shall label the traditions with the capital letters of the names of the authors of the books in which they appeared.

According to Madelung, al-Kulaynī’s chief transmitters were Imāmī scholars based in Qum; therefore Madelung postulates that he spent most of his time studying in Qum, ‘most likely during the last decade of the 3rd century A.H. (903-13)’.⁵¹⁰ He also transmitted traditions from scholars of Ray who lived in his time. It is not certain but in the first decade of the 4th century A.H. (913-23), he moved to Baghdād where he lived and taught until the end of his life. He compiled his book *al-Kāfī fī ‘Ilm al-Dīn* during this period.

⁵⁰⁸ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummi, *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā’il Āl Muḥammad*, 193-194.

⁵⁰⁹ A man asked Abū Ja‘far (peace be upon him) and Abū Ja‘far replied: No one is able to say that he collected the Qur‘ān in its entirety except the trustees.

⁵¹⁰ Madelung, W.. "Al-Kulaynī (al-Kulīnī), Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. Durham University Library. 30 January 2014
 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-kulayni-or-al-kulini-abu-djafar-Muhammad-SIM_4495>

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It is known that al-Kulaynī was a student of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār (d. 290/903) and thus he reported traditions from al-Ṣaffār. In this regard the tradition (K1) seems to be a copy of al-Ṣaffār's, save the extra name in the chain of transmission and slightly different spelling of the last reporter of the tradition. Similar to al-Ṣaffār's version (S1), al-Kulaynī reports the tradition from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. However, in al-Ṣaffār's version (S1) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn reports it from Muḥammad b. Sinān, while in al-Kulaynī's version Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn reports it from an additional person who is again called Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn.

In the 2008 Qum edition of *al-Kāfi fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, there is a long footnote in which Āyatullāh al-Sayyid Mūsā al-Shubayrī al-Zanjānī, who is the editor, discusses this additional transmitter and the surrounding issues. Al-Zanjānī points out that there is a print among the copies of the text in which the name was given as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan instead of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn.⁵¹¹ In fact, the 1968 Tehran edition of the book, published by Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, also mentions the name as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan instead of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, without providing any additional information.⁵¹² Al-Zanjānī adds that since the tradition was also narrated in *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, authored by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, it is a possibility that al-Kulaynī included his name in the chain of narration without mentioning al-Ṣaffār. By mentioning this argument he alludes to the views of eminent Shī'ite scholars such as al-Khūfī and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ardabīlī.⁵¹³

This explanation is plausible, as al-Ṣaffār was a shaykh of al-Kulaynī and it is highly probable that he had heard the tradition from his shaykh and included it in *al-Kāfi* by adding the name Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (without al-Ṣaffār) in the chain of narration. However, the matter seems to be more complicated as the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan has been a matter of dispute among the scholars of *'ilm al-*

⁵¹¹ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfi fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, 2008, 1:566.

⁵¹² Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī. *Al-Kāfi fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*. Vol. 1. 8 vols. Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1986, 228.

⁵¹³ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-Ruwāt*, vol. 2 (Qum, Iran: Maktab Āyatullāh al-'Uḍmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1982), 465.

rijāl (biography of *ḥadīth* transmitters), and it is not certain whether Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan always refers to al-Ṣaffār in *al-Kāfī*. Therefore, it is pertinent to investigate the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, as this might verify that al-Kulaynī's source was al-Ṣaffār or that he had another source. In order to discover the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the first point of reference is perhaps the foremost authority in Shī'ite biographical work: Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī's (d. 450/1058) *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.⁵¹⁴

This book has been considered one of the earliest and the most reliable biographical works on the Shī'ite narrators. The author himself did not give a particular title for the book and thus it has been named after al-Najāshī. In his book, al-Najāshī listed al-Ṣaffār as number 948 out of 1240 biographies, and discussed his biography under the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrukh. From the account of al-Najāshī we understand that al-Ṣaffār was classified as a trustworthy (*thiqa*) person, a resident of Qum considered to be a prolific writer. Al-Najāshī lists the names of all of his books and points out that he rarely erred in his reports.⁵¹⁵ He also informs us about the usual informants through whom al-Ṣaffār narrates his traditions: Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ash'ārī al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, Abū 'Abdallāh b. Shādhān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, and his father.

Although al-Najāshī classifies al-Ṣaffār as trustworthy, the historicity of such a claim is questionable. First, as has been articulated by Motzki,⁵¹⁶ such a judgement was based on the reports of other narrations, and therefore similarly to *aḥādīth* their authenticity need to be verified. Further, a Shī'ite scholar of biographies, Muḥammad Āṣif al-Muḥsinī, in his work entitled *Buḥūth fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl*,⁵¹⁷ articulates the

⁵¹⁴ Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Beirut-Lebanon: Shirkat-i al-A'lamī lī-al-Maṭbū'āt, 2010).

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 338.

⁵¹⁶ See the previous chapter.

⁵¹⁷ Muḥammad Āṣif al-Muḥsinī, *Buḥūth fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl* (Qum, Iran: Markaz al-Muṣṭafā al-'Ālamiyya, 1999).

problems regarding the historicity of grading narrators who lived in the early period of Islam.

Al-Muḥsinī states that like other Shī'ite biographers, neither al-Najāshī nor al-Ṭūsī were present at the time of the Companions of the Prophet or at the time of the companions of the Imāms. Thus they were not in the position to grade the narrators based on direct observations. Therefore, the judgements of later biographers on the early narrators were based on either their assumptions or narrations about the informants. The biographers must have been using either of these methods, or both of them, to grade individual narrators.

However, for al-Muḥsinī it is impossible to achieve certainty regarding the merit of the narrators by relying on the two methods: The first lacks certainty due to its reliance on speculation about the reliability of narrators who lived a long time ago. One can only accept the reliability (or unreliability) of a person if he has direct access to the individual, otherwise passing judgement on a person's merit becomes mere conjecture and this is not acceptable.⁵¹⁸ The second method involves declarations of trustworthiness through assessment of *asānīd*. However, most of the time these *thawthiqāt* are in the status of *mursal* (traditions that were narrated without mentioning the original narrator) and therefore al-Muḥsinī asserts that *mursal* traditions are not regarded as reliable, as a result of which the second method is also not reliable.⁵¹⁹ Al-Muḥsinī further states that when he was a student, he raised this problem with prominent Shī'ite scholars of the time such as al-Sayyid abū al-Qāsim al-Mūsāwī al-Khū'ī, al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, al-Sheikh al-Ḥillī, al-Sayyid al-Mīlānī, al-Sayyid Khomaynī and others, but none of them provided a satisfying solution for the problem.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 51.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 52.

Another important reference for al-Ṣaffār is Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (385/996-460/1067). He was a contemporary of al-Najāshī, but was based first in Baghdad and then Najaf. He has two important works entitled *al-Fihrist*⁵²¹ and *al-Rijāl*. Al-Ṭūsī mentions al-Ṣaffār in his *al-Fihrist*,⁵²² as biography number 611 out of 888 biographies.⁵²³ Al-Ṭūsī also mentions the usual informants of al-Ṣaffār, but there is no extra information in addition to what was given in *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.

Since there is not much useful information to aid our quest, we may now turn to the other sources. Perhaps the best investigation on the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan came from al-Muḥsinī. In his discussion of the subject, al-Muḥsinī points out that al-Kulaynī, in his *al-Kāfī*, narrates a number of traditions from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan alone or with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and ‘Alī b. Muḥammad together. These are narrated most of the time on the authority of Sahl b. Ziyād and sometimes on the authority of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Alawī or ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan. Furthermore, sometimes they are narrated on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq who was also mentioned in the chains of transmission by the names Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Naḥāwandī or Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmar.

Upon giving this information, al-Muḥsinī states that the strongest evidence in support of those who maintain Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was al-Ṣaffār, comes from al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Fihrist*. In the book, al-Ṭūsī states the path to Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq’s works: ‘Narrated to me Abū al-Ḥusayn b. abī Jayyid al-Qummī from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār from Ibrāhīm al-Aḥmarī in his book *Maqṭal al-Ḥusayn* only.’⁵²⁴

For al-Muḥsinī, this path is an indication that the Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan whom al-Kulaynī mentions in his *asānīd* is al-Ṣaffār. Similar to the above mentioned path al-

⁵²¹ This work is a catalogue of Shī’ite authors and their books.

⁵²² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (Qum, Iran: al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, No date).

⁵²³ Ibid., 143–144.

⁵²⁴ Muḥammad Āṣif al-Muḥsinī, *Buḥūth fī ‘Ilm al-Rijāl*, 275.

Kulaynī has other *isnāds* in *al-Kāfī*, in which he narrates from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan through Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq; therefore it is plausible to argue that al-Ṣaffār and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan are the same person. However, al-Muḥsinī rules out this evidence on the ground that there is a lack of evidence concerning the reliability of Ibn abī Jayyid; thus the reliability of this path cannot be proven.⁵²⁵

Al-Muḥsinī also mentions the opinion of another famous scholar of biography, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī (d. 1320/1902) on the subject. In his book *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il wa-Mustanbaṭ al-Masā'il*⁵²⁶ Nūrī states that the evidence mentioned above falls short of attesting that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and al-Ṣaffār are the same person as there were a few Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasans contemporary to al-Ṣaffār, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan may refer to any of them. These are Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī abū 'Abdallāh al-Muḥāribī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī abū al-Muthanna, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Bunādir al-Qummī, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barnanī.

Conversely, the evidence that suggests Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan is not al-Ṣaffār weighs stronger for al-Muḥsinī. Most of the narrations that al-Kulaynī narrates from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan were narrated on the authority of Sahl b. Ziyād, yet al-Ṣaffār, in his *Baṣā'ir*, did not narrate a single narration from Sahl b. Ziyād. Al-Muḥsinī further articulates his argument by pointing out that *Baṣā'ir* was written for reverence of the Shī'ite Imāms and in such a book al-Ṣaffār would have definitely reported traditions from Sahl b. Ziyād who was thought to have extremist Shī'ite (*ghālī*) tendencies and was therefore a good source of traditions that highly revered the Imāms. Furthermore, in his other work, entitled *al-Tahdhīb*, al-Ṣaffār narrates only one tradition from Sahl b. Ziyād,⁵²⁷ which indicates that al-Ṣaffār's narration from Sahl b. Ziyād was an exception and that he did not prefer to narrate from him.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il wa-Mustanbaṭ al-Masā'il*, vol. 18 (Beirut: Muassasa Taḥqīqāt wa-Nashr Ma'ārif Ahl al-Bayt, 1987).

⁵²⁷ Muḥammad Āṣif al-Muḥsinī, *Buḥūth fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl*, 275–276.

Al-Muḥsinī then refers to the opinion of Sayyid Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī Burūjardī (1875-1961) who also discussed the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Burūjardī examines *asānīd* of al-Ṣaffār and *asānīd* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and concludes that the Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan from whom al-Kulaynī directly narrates is not al-Ṣaffār. As a result of this investigation Burūjardī infers that there is no similarity between the *asānīd* of the two narrators. Burūjardī further elaborates that al-Ṣaffār had a wealth of sources for his narrations. A number of paths were available to him in his narrations; he narrates from around 50 different individuals. These sources are from Kūfa, Baghdad, Qum and Ray. On the other Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan from whom al-Kulaynī narrates directly, had a very limited number of sources which are from Ray. Further, he mostly reports from Sahl b. Ziyād and other than Sahl b. Ziyād he has very few narrators.⁵²⁸

Burūjardī further argues that it has not been proven that al-Ṣaffār narrates from Sahl b. Ziyād. In his works there are two points where he narrates from Sahl b. Ziyād: One in his *al-Taḥdhīb* and the other in *al-Faqīh*. However, the narrations which were mentioned in *al-Taḥdhīb* were known to be defective (*ma ʿlul*). Burūjardī then puts forward his supposition regarding the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan: He believes that the narrator who was named Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was al-Ṭāʾī al-Rāzī, who was known to be a *ḥadīth* scholar from the city of Ray. Al-Najāshī, in his discussion on ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Jaradhīnī al-Rāzī whom he considered an extremist Shīʿite (*ghālī*) and weak narrator, mentions the *isnād* path through which all of his books were narrated. It consists of: Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbaydallāh from Ibn abī Rāfiʿ from Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāʾī al-Rāzī.⁵²⁹

According to Burūjardī, this path provides information regarding the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan who reports from sources who are based in the city of Ray. The Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan who is mentioned in this *isnād* path is from the city of

⁵²⁸ Sayyid Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī Burūjardī, *Rijāl Asānīd aw Ṭabaqāt Rijāl: Kitāb al-Kāfī* (Mashad: Islamic Research Foundation, 1992), 315–316.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

Rāz (Ray); therefore he maintains that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan is al-Ṭāʾī al-Rāzī. However, Burūjardī informs us of a possible issue regarding al-Ṭāʾī. He locates the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāʾī in *al-Kāfī*, in the book of *Jihād*, the chapter regarding the duty of *Jihād*, which he believes an indication that Kulaynī narrates other traditions from al-Ṭāʾī, therefore strengthening his theory. In three handwritten manuscripts of *al-Kāfī*, he came across the name written as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāʾī; however, in another handwritten manuscript and two other printed version of the book, the name al-Ṭāʾī was replaced by al-Ṭātārī and given as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭātārī. Although this might seem to make the issue more complicated, Burūjardī takes it as a further validation of his argument: Although al-Ṭātārī was known to be a famous narrator, he lived one generation (*al-ṭabaqa al-sābiʿah*) earlier than al-Kulaynī and would have needed one more person in between to narrate from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭātārī.⁵³⁰

Al-Muḥsinī believes that this concurs with his earlier findings, yet he is dubious about the reliability of such a conclusion. This is due to the fact that despite evidence that has been brought forward it still remains a speculation that al-Kulaynī's narrator Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was al-Ṭāʾī. Even if it was him, al-Muḥsinī goes on to state that al-Ṭāʾī was an unknown personality and therefore, the *sanad* he is in has no value.⁵³¹ This elaborate study about the identity of the Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan who was mentioned in *al-Kāfī* rules out the possibility that Kulaynī's informant was al-Ṣaffār or any other Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. It was perhaps a transcription error, which is very possible when writing the names of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn that stem from the same Arabic root. Furthermore, Majlisī's quotation of the *isnād* in which he gives the name as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn also reinforces the possibility of a copyist error.

The initial investigation of the *isnād* reveals that the common link for the two variants of the traditions is Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. In his book *Baṣāʾir*, al-Ṣaffār

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Muḥammad Āṣif al-Muḥsinī, *Buḥūth fī ʿIlm al-Rijāl*, 275–276.

narrates from 150 sources and there are only two Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayns among the *shaykhs* (teachers) of al-Ṣaffār. One of them is mentioned as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn and the other as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb. Having said that, there is no person in the biography books named Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn alone; therefore we can postulate that al-Ṣaffār used the shortened version of the name and it refers to one of the Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayns from whom al-Ṣaffār reported tradition.

In *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*, there are five informants with this name: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Safarjal, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāyī' and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā. Among these al-Ṣaffār only reports from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 262/875) in his *Baṣā'ir*.

Isnād patterns further support this since Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb usually reports from Muḥammad b. Sinān (d. 219/834) and al-Ṣaffār reports from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb who was a *Kūfī* scholar and member of the al-Hamdānī tribe.⁵³² After Muḥammad b. Sinān, through a single strand the transmission line reaches Muḥammad al-Bāqir who apparently narrated the tradition. Muḥammad al-Bāqir was a direct descendant of 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib; hence we may assume that the event was narrated through a family chain of narration that included four previous Imāms until it reached 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib.

However, one should bear in mind that the chain of transmission as it stands is satisfactory for Shī'ites as they regard a *ḥadīth* culminating at one of the Imāms as ultimate and as the termination of the chain. Therefore, they do not require further *isnād*. This is because they believe the Imām has inspired knowledge and does not need to know through reports. Nevertheless, even from a non-Shī'ite perspective, it is possible that Abū Ja'far could have received the news from his ancestors and the

⁵³² Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl Al-Najāshī*, 319.

tradition could have been passed through a family chain of narration. However, at this stage such a suggestion remains only a speculation since there is no proof to substantiate it.

In the light of the preliminary findings we may reach two different conclusions: The tradition was connected to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb who had either received it from Muḥammad b. Sinān and spread it in Kūfa towards the second half of the third century, or the later was included in the transmission process as a result of a fabrication process. At this stage we have only two transmission lines, which is significantly less than what Motzki found in his treatment of the Sunnī traditions on the collection of the Qurʾān. However, elsewhere Motzki also demonstrates that the *isnād-cum-matn* method can be implemented on traditions that have significantly fewer transmission lines.⁵³³

Al-Ṣaffār narrates from informants based in Qum, Kūfa, Ray and Baghdad and it is possible that he had heard the tradition from Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb. In addition, the time periods in which they lived overlap; therefore there is no apparent reason why he could not hear the tradition from Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb. However, this in itself is not enough to reach any conclusion as Motzki issued a caveat against reaching quick conclusions:

'In order to decide whether a common link may be a transmitter or collector we need evidence. If there is no positive evidence available, we should refrain from making a judgment. Accepting negative evidence, e.g., the fact that no information to the contrary is available, would be too dangerous in view of the scarcity of the sources.'⁵³⁴

⁵³³ Harald Motzki, "Murder of Ibn Abi I-Huqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghazi-Reports / Harald Motzki"; Harald Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's Muwaṭṭa' and Legal Traditions," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 22 (1988): 18–74; Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*.

⁵³⁴ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:240.

Thus we need to look for more evidence. As for al-Kulaynī's *isnād* there is an important question which remains unanswered: Why did al-Kulaynī not narrate the tradition from al-Ṣaffār and instead narrated it from someone else? Since the two scholars were contemporary and al-Ṣaffār was a shaykh of al-Kulaynī it would have been very convenient for al-Kulaynī to copy it from al-Ṣaffār's book. Therefore, it seems strange that he narrates the tradition from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. A possible explanation, before examining the evidence, is that by skipping al-Ṣaffār who was thought to have some unconventional traditions in his books, al-Kulaynī wanted to reinforce the reliability of the tradition. Further, it might also be considered a sign of fabrication of the tradition since increasing the lines of transmission would have strengthened the reliability of the tradition. Therefore, this piece of information demands further investigation.

As we have observed previously, there is no person named just Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn alone and there are five people in the biography books who are named Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn.⁵³⁵ At this stage two options remain to disclose the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn: Relying on the biography works, or examining *al-Kāfī* to look for the *isnād* patterns to identify Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn.

There is no information in the biography works regarding the identity of the Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn mentioned in this particular *sanad*; therefore for this particular transmitter we may rule out the first option. However, in the same footnote that we mentioned above,⁵³⁶ al-Zanjānī provides information regarding the *sanad* of this tradition which seems to provide a tangible solution to the problem. Troubled with the peculiarity of the *sanad*, al-Zanjānī first argues against the conclusion that we have covered above: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn is in reality Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār. He postulates that in *al-Kāfī* there is no other tradition in which Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn is located between Muḥammad b. al-

⁵³⁵ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Safarjal, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāyī' and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā.

⁵³⁶ Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, 2008, 1:566.

Ḥasan and Muḥammad b. al-Sinān. Further, in *al-Kāfī*, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (whether he may be al-Ṣaffār or al-Ṭāʾī al-Rāzī) does not report from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, and consequently this argument is not substantiated.

In the face of the lack of concurrence between the two scholars, he proposes investigation of the *isnād* patterns in order to solve the riddle. In this regard, he undertakes cross-comparison of the *sanad* patterns of *al-Kāfī* and *Baṣāʾir* for the tradition that they both narrate. For example in *Baṣāʾir*, al-Ṣaffār narrates from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from al-Naḍr b. Shuʿayb. In *al-Kāfī* the same tradition was reported from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAttār, a famous *shaykh* of al-Kulaynī and Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, who was a *Qummī* reporter from the Ashʿarī tribe from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from al-Naḍr b. Shuʿayb. Thus al-Kulaynī does not narrate the tradition from al-Ṣaffār and instead prefers to narrate it from another informer, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. The same pattern is apparent in another tradition. Al-Ṣaffār reports a tradition from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and the same tradition is reported in *al-Kāfī* through Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Again al-Kulaynī prefers a different informant and instead of al-Ṣaffār he reports it from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā.⁵³⁷

Al-Zanjānī provides various other *asānīd* in which a similar pattern recurs, and basing on this pattern, he concludes that there must be a spelling error in the recording of the *sanad* and the name of Kulaynī's informant should have been the famous and 'reliable'⁵³⁸ *Qummī* informant Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, who appeared in around 6000 *asānīd* in *al-Kāfī*. He adds that this *sanad* pattern makes more sense as there are many transmissions in *al-Kāfī* in which Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā reports from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb, who reports from Muḥammad b. Sinān.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 337.

⁵³⁹ Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī ʿIlm al-Dīn*, 2008, 1:566.

This seems to be a very innovative and convincing solution for the problem at hand. It is not uncommon that spelling errors occur during the copying of handwritten manuscripts; consequently Yaḥyā was spelled as Ḥusayn by a later copyist. However, one might still reject this finding and consider the lack of evidence regarding the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn as a compelling evidence for the fabrication of the tradition. But such an assertion at this stage is not warranted since no fabricator would have crafted such a weak *sanad* to promote a tradition. If al-Kulaynī had wanted to fabricate this tradition he could have put together a much more sophisticated and solid *sanad* that would not have cast doubt on it even by Akhbārī scholars like Majlisī.

At this junction, we might look into the possibility of strengthening al-Zanjānī's findings: Trying to substantiate it by examining all the *asānīd* of *al-Kāfī* in which the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn was mentioned might be one way to achieve this. An examination of the *asānīd* would give us an opportunity to see the patterns by which al-Kulaynī reports his traditions from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, as well as if similar to the tradition that is being treated, the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn appears in a *sanad* more than once.

In *Dār al-Ḥadīth* edition of *al-Kāfī*, 15413 traditions are listed and out of these traditions there are 473 traditions, which amounts to around 3% of the total number of traditions, which included a Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn in their *asānīd*.⁵⁴⁰ Among these *asānīd* the name Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn was mentioned once as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saghīr, once as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb, twice as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Kathīr al-Khazzāz, once as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and once as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd. In the remaining 467 *asānīd* the name appeared as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. Considering their

⁵⁴⁰ See appendix

position in the *asānīd* we can safely assume that whenever al-Kulaynī mentions Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn he is referring to Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb.

In addition, there was only one occasion on which Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn appeared twice in a single *sanad* and this is the tradition which is being treated. There is no other example of such an appearance in the *asānīd*. This further strengthens al-Zanjānī's argument that there was a spelling error in the *sanad*. Further, among these *asānīd*, around 412 times al-Kulaynī reports the tradition directly or indirectly through Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (most of the time directly, only on a few occasions Aḥmad b. Muḥammad is in the middle). Hence, we may consider this to give further credence to al-Zanjānī's arguments that the spelling error was committed in the place of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. Consequently, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā seems to be the favoured informant of al-Kulaynī, who prefers to report from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn through him.

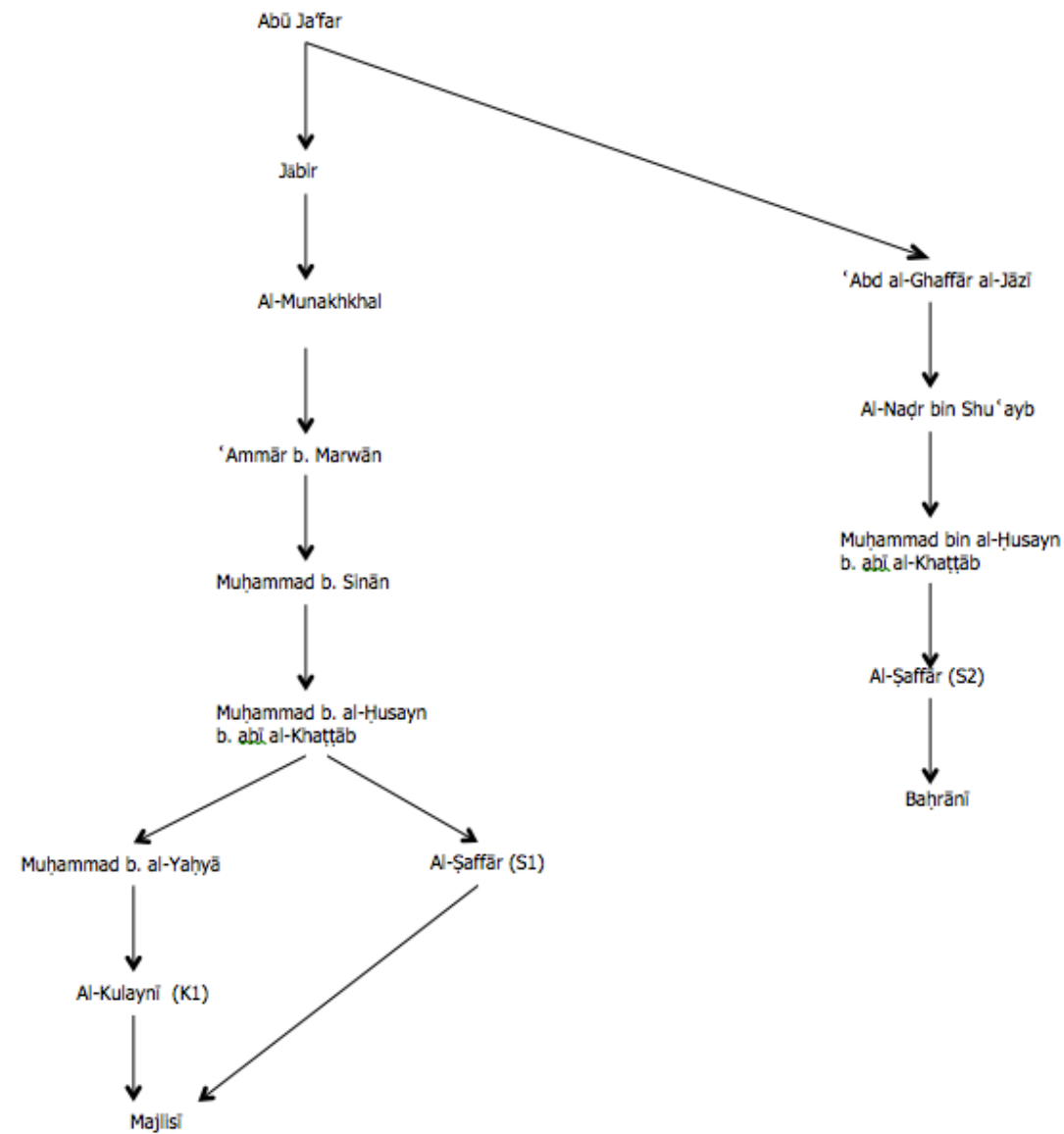
The only question remaining now is why al-Kulaynī did not report it from al-Ṣaffār himself. The answer can be found in Motzki's study of a similar – not identical – when he enquires about Nafi' b. 'Umar *ḥadīth* on *zakāt* to see if it exists in different versions of Mālik's *Muwatṭā'*. According to Motzki's investigation, the tradition does not appear in the oldest available recension of *Muwatṭā'* by Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805). On the other hand, the tradition appears in the later recension of *Muwatṭā'* Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/236 or 848/9-850).⁵⁴¹ In order to justify this, aside from other arguments, Motzki speculates that it might be possible that when Shaybānī, who was a student of Mālik, studied with him, Mālik's lecture notes did not include the tradition or he only used certain parts of his notes in the lectures in which al-Shaybānī could have received the tradition.⁵⁴² Similarly, in the case of al-Kulaynī, when he met al-Ṣaffār it is possible that al-Ṣaffār had not finished his book and also did not inform al-Kulaynī about this tradition. Al-Kulaynī might have seen

⁵⁴¹ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:91–92.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 78:93.

(or might not have seen at all) the completed copy of al-Saffār's book and the tradition after compiling the relevant volume of his work but then there was no need for him to include the same tradition in his book, since by then he had received the same tradition from another informant and perhaps thought this was sufficient. Upon establishing the identity of the informants we can now continue analysing the *asānīd*.

Diagram 1



The two *asānīd* merge at Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 262/875), who seems to be the common link for this tradition. He was a highly revered Kūfī scholar and has been praised greatly in both *Rijāl al-Najāshī* and al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*. Najāshī considered him a great Shī'ite scholar who authored books on various subjects. He was also a prolific reporter and he has been graded as *thiqa*.⁵⁴³ According to al-Hilālī, he was a companion of three Shī'ite Imāms: Imām al-Jawād, Imām al-Hādī and Imām al-Askarī. Further, al-Hilālī feels obliged to mention that he was different from his father, Muḥammad b. abī Zaynab al-Khaṭṭāb, who was an 'infamously damned' man.⁵⁴⁴ He was a contemporary of both Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā⁵⁴⁵ and al-Ṣaffār (d. 290/903) with a reasonable age gap between them, thus it is highly probable that he was the one who distributed the tradition, hence the common link. Although Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was a Qummī scholar, there was extensive interaction between Qum and Kūfa at the time as both were major Shī'ite centres of knowledge and scholars very often travelled back and forth between the two cities.

Therefore, we can trace the tradition to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb, who lived in the third Islamic century in Kūfa. Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb either fabricated the tradition or genuinely disseminated the tradition that he had learned from another source. As for the first possibility, the *isnād-cum-matn* method prompts the question: Is there any reason why Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb would have invented the tradition? Biography books do not suggest any reason that might prompt him to take such a course of action. One possibility, however, might be that as a devout Shī'ite he might have wanted to boost the reputation of 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib through the fabrication of this tradition. As has been mentioned above, the political and religious

⁵⁴³ Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 319–320.

⁵⁴⁴ Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, vol. 1 (Qum: al-Hadi, 1984), 236.

⁵⁴⁵ There is no a date of death for him in the sources but it he might have died around the same date as al-Ṣaffār.

significance of such an undertaking would have been a very significant achievement for ‘Alī and his followers. Therefore, one might always argue that it must have been a very tempting enterprise for the Shī‘ite scholars to fabricate traditions on the subject. Having said that, unless it is substantiated such an assumption remains the result of bias. As we have seen earlier, the burden of proof is on the scholars who come up with such allegations.

Further, the identities of the remaining transmitters in the *sanad* significantly weaken the possibility that Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb invented the tradition. His source, Muḥammad b. Sinān (d. 220/835) was a very well known reporter to the Shī‘ite scholars. He was a *mawlā* (client) of ‘Amr b. al-Ḥamīq al-Khāzā‘ī,⁵⁴⁶ who was allegedly involved in the rebellion against the third caliph ‘Uthmān that resulted in his assassination.⁵⁴⁷ Both al-Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī⁵⁴⁸ give a very negative account of him and consider him weak, unreliable and extremist (*ghālī*). Although Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) clears him of all the accusations⁵⁴⁹ there still remains a controversy around his personality. If Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb had invented the tradition why would he choose someone with such a controversial reputation? He could very well have picked a more reputable informant(s) and come up with a more convincing *sanad*, but he did not simply because it was the person from whom he heard the tradition. No reasonable forger would have come up with such an informant otherwise. Therefore, at this stage we can safely assume that the tradition can be traced back to the source of Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb, who was Muḥammad b. Sinān.

This finding concurs with Motzki’s argument regarding the possibility of extending the dating to the informer who comes before the common link:

⁵⁴⁶ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 313.

⁵⁴⁷ Al-Khāzā‘ī was later on captured and killed by Mu‘āwiya.

⁵⁴⁸ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 313–314; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 143.

⁵⁴⁹ Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 49 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1983), 276.

I believe that the dating does not have to stop at the common link, who has so far been considered the limit in dating, but that the problem of dating should be shifted to the informant before the common link. Thus, in individual cases the question whether the common link may have received his material from the person indicated [*sic*]. So far hardly anyone has dared to cross the limit that Schacht set at the common link. However, there is no reason why this could not be done successfully.⁵⁵⁰

Muḥammad b. Sinān narrates the tradition from ‘Ammār b. Marwān,⁵⁵¹ who was known to be the *mawlā* of Banū Thawbān. There is not much information regarding ‘Ammār b. Marwān in the biography books despite his frequent appearance in the *asānīd* of many traditions. According to al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā mostly report traditions from him and he reports from Muḥammad b. Sinān.⁵⁵²

‘Ammār b. Marwān narrates the tradition from Munakhkhal b. Jamīl.⁵⁵³ He was from Kūfa and had a book on *tafsīr*. He narrates from Abū ‘Abdallāh and Abū al-Ḥasan. The majority of *rijāl* scholars consider him weak and of extremist tendencies (*ghālī*).^{554 555} However, only al-Ṭūsī was neutral on the issue and did not pass any judgement about him.⁵⁵⁶ Finally, Munakhkhal b. Jamīl narrates it from Jābir b. Yazīd (d. 127/745), who was a disciple of Abū Ja‘far and Ja‘far al Ṣādiq.

⁵⁵⁰ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:211.

⁵⁵¹ No date of death.

⁵⁵² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 117.

⁵⁵³ No death of date.

⁵⁵⁴ Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn Wāsiṭī Baghdādī, *Al-Rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Redā Ḥusaynī, vol. 1 (Qum: Dar al-Ḥadīth, 1985), 89.

⁵⁵⁵ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 403; Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il wa-Mustanbaṭ al-Masā’il*, vol 6 (Qum: Muassasah Āl al-Bayt, 1987), 320.

⁵⁵⁶ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 169.

Since Muḥammad b. Sinān has a controversial personality it seems difficult to carry on with the *isnād* analysis after him. As he was accused of being a *ghālī*, it raises questions as it gives him the necessary motivation to forge the tradition or at best to be inclined to be careless regarding the reliability of the transmitters when collecting traditions in the case of traditions that revere the status of the Imāms. On the other hand, al-Mufīd's assurance about his reliability might help us to lift the controversy around him. At this stage it is best not to stray into more controversial areas.

As for the third version of the same tradition, its *matn* resembles the previous two versions yet the *isnād* significantly differs after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. The transmission goes as a single strand through al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb and 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī and then again reaches the fifth Imām, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir (d. 114/733). In comparison to the previous two versions, there are significantly fewer transmitters involved in this chain of transmission. As we have covered Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb when we treated the previous two versions, we can commence with examining al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb.

The information regarding al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb is limited as he is rather an unknown personality to Shī'ite scholars. In the sources and few traditions reported through al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb in Shī'ite *ḥadīth* collections, he was certainly not one of the individuals who very often appeared in the Shī'ite *asānīd*. Nevertheless, Nevertheless, some traditions in which al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb narrates can be found through an examination of major Shī'ite works. This includes 17 traditions in *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, 11 traditions in *al-Kāfī*, two narrations in *Man Lā Yahḍuruḥu al-Faqīh*⁵⁵⁷ written by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh (d. 381/991), one of the most important *ḥadīth* collectors in Shī'ite Islam. Further, Ibn Bābawayh narrated one tradition through al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb in his book entitled *al-Amālī*⁵⁵⁸ which was a collection of

⁵⁵⁷ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh, *Man Lā Yahḍuruḥu al-Faqīh*, 4 vols. (Qum: Daftar-i Intisārāt-i Islāmī, 1992).

⁵⁵⁸ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh, *Al-Amālī*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Kitābchī, n.d.), 294.

lecture notes recorded by his students, two traditions in *al-Khisāl*⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ and finally two more traditions in Ibn Bābawayh's *Ma 'ānī al-Akhhbār*.⁵⁶¹

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Mufīd (d. 413/1022), another prominent Shī'ite scholar narrates two traditions through al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb in his *al-Ikhtisāṣ*.⁵⁶² In addition, al-Ṭūsī mentions seven traditions in his *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*,⁵⁶³ and six traditions in *al-Istibṣār fī-mā Akhtalaf min al-Akhhbār*⁵⁶⁴ that were transmitted through al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb. Finally, Muḥammad Muḥsin b. Shah Murtaḍā Fayḍ al-Kāshānī's (d. 1091/1680) celebrated compilation *al-Wāfī* also mentions 15 traditions that contain the name al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb in their *asānīd*. In the work, Fayḍ al-Kāshānī compiles traditions that already existed in the Four Books⁵⁶⁵ (*al-Kutub al-Arba 'ah*), the most important *ḥadīth* collections of the Shī'ites, and rearranges them into different chapters with his clarifications and explanations; thus they are not different traditions.

Perhaps his lack of appearance in the *asānīd* was the main reason why there was no interest in al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb by the early Shī'ite scholars and consequently there is no direct information about him in the early sources. The only information we may attain about al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb is indirectly, when he is mentioned in the articles on his informants and reporters in the early *rijāl* works. In these works by studying Ibn

⁵⁵⁹ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh, *Al-Khisāl*, vol. 1 (Qum: Jāmi'ah Mudarrisīn, 1983), 72.

⁵⁶⁰ The book contains traditions about Islamic ethics.

⁵⁶¹ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh, *Ma 'ānī al-Akhhbār*, vol. 1, 1 vols. (Qum: Daftar-i Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1982).

⁵⁶² Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mufīd, *Al-Ikhtisāṣ*, vol. 1, 1 vols. (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-'Alamī li-Ta'līf al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1992).

⁵⁶³ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 1, 10 vols. (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1986).

⁵⁶⁴ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Istibṣār fī-mā Akhtalaf min al-Akhhbār*, 4 vols. (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1970).

⁵⁶⁵ The significance of the Four Book in Shī'ism is somehow similar to the Six Major *ḥadīth* collections of Sunnī faith yet unlike the Sunnī school of thought for Shī'ite the Four Books are not considered to be canonical hence open to scrutiny. The Four Books include: *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, *Man Lā Yahdhurhu al-Faqīh*, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār*

abī al-Khaṭṭāb and ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī we can find out that al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb is usually mentioned when he transmits traditions from ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī.⁵⁶⁶

In the traditions where al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb appears in the *asānīd*, most of the time Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb reports from him and al-Naḍr reports from ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī, thus the *sanad* is not unprecedented. However, lack of information about al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb makes it very difficult to examine the *sanad* adequately. The *sanad* of this version could have been stronger if al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb were excluded, as the other transmitters were well-known individuals and often transmit tradition through the same paths.

In this regard, the last person in the chain of transmission before it reaches Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir is ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī, who was a very well known and esteemed Shī‘ite reporter. In *Rijāl*, al-Najāshī ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī was also mentioned with additional titles: al-Ghaffār b. Ḥabīb and al-Ṭhāī.⁵⁶⁷ He was from Jāziyya (*ahli Jāziyya*) a village between the two rivers, presumably Tigris and Euphrates (*qarya bi al-Nahrayn*).⁵⁶⁸ He reports from Abū ‘Abdallāh, the sixth Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (83/702-148/765) and was rated as *thiqa*. Al-Najāshī also informs about the usual chains of transmission through which reports from ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī were transmitted. One of the transmission paths includes: ‘Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb) narrated to us (*ḥaddathanā*), he said: Al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb narrated to us (*ḥaddathanā*), from ‘Abd al-Ghaffār in his book.⁵⁶⁹

There is adequate information in this brief paragraph of al-Najāshī to figure out that ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī lived in Iraq, a village in Mesopotamia called *Jāziyya*, and he was contemporary of the son of the fifth Imām Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-

⁵⁶⁶ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 237.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

Bāqir, therefore it is also possible that he saw al-Bāqir himself and consequently is entitled to report the tradition from him. Although his date of death is not available since he was a contemporary of the fifth and the sixth Imāms, we may try to deduce the possible time period in which he lived. The fifth Imām al-Bāqir died in year 114 and reportedly served as an Imām for 19 years before he was poisoned. In order for al-Jāzī to be able to report from al-Bāqir he should have been at a reasonable age, perhaps between 15 and 25 years old. Since he only narrates one tradition from Abū Ja‘far, we might assume that he was very young during Abū Ja‘far’s period of Imāmat.

As he also witnessed the period of Imāmat of the sixth Imām and reported many traditions from him we may assume that he was at the peak of his career at this time and lived through most of the period of the Imāmat of al-Ṣādiq, which was 34 years. Since he did not narrate traditions from the seventh Imām Mūsā b. Ja‘far al-Kāẓim (128-183/745-799) one may assume he died towards the end of the life of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Therefore it might be possible to accept Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s date of death also al-Jāzī’s roughly date of death, which is 148.⁵⁷⁰ However, it might also be possible that he survived through some parts of the period of the Imāmat of al-Kāẓim but was too old or sick to travel and attend the gatherings of al-Kāẓim in order to collect traditions from him. Nevertheless he may have continued to receive students in his house and taught them the traditions.

He should have been roughly in his 60s or 70s when he died, so considering the untimely death of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq perhaps it is more reasonable to assume that he died a few years later than al-Ṣādiq, roughly around year 155. We also know the date of death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb which is 262/875. At this juncture, despite the lack of information about al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb, it seems that

⁵⁷⁰ Modarressi, in his biographical work groups him with scholars who died in the period between 136 and 198; Modarressi, Hossein. *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shiite Literature*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003.

through the *isnād-cum-matn* method it might be possible to find out if he lived in a time frame wherein he could have transmitted the tradition from al-Jāzī to Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb. Considering the fact that Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb was a companion of three Shī'ite Imāms: Imām al-Jawād, Imām al-Hādī and Imām al-Askarī,⁵⁷¹ he must have had a considerably long life and likely to have reached a ripe age. He was perhaps in his 70s or 80s when he died. If we assume he died around 70 years old, he would have been born around year 192.

Consequently, al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb should have been born at least in year 140 and perhaps died around 210 so that Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb could have met him. Although it might be physically possible that al-Naḍr Ibn Shu'ayb transmitted the tradition, there are other issues that need to be considered. For example, there is only one instance in the entire Shī'ite *ḥadīth* corpus in which 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār al-Jāzī reports a tradition from Abū Ja'far. All the remaining traditions he reports from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. This might cast some doubts regarding the authenticity of the tradition but it can be explained that he was very young during the period of the Imāmat of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and therefore he only heard a few traditions from him and among them only this tradition found its way into the *ḥadīth* books.

In addition, it is rather odd that this tradition was only recorded by al-Ṣaffār. It does not appear in any other major Shī'ite sources; is it possible that al-Ṣaffār fabricated it? In order to answer this question affirmatively we need to find evidence and/or motive, but we have not encountered any evidence that suggests he might have fabricated the tradition. Even if it was only recorded by al-Ṣaffār, this does not necessarily mean that the version was fabricated.

Therefore, we can trace the tradition to Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb, who was also the common link of the previous two versions of the traditions. Again, according to the

⁵⁷¹ Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, 1984, 1:236.

isnād-cum-matn method there is no reason for us to not trace it back to al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb who seems to be the source of the version. As we have seen, al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb transmitted a number of traditions in major Shī‘ite collections although he was an unknown personality, and this casts doubts regarding the reliability of the tradition. It is physically possible for him to have received the tradition from ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī; nevertheless perhaps it is more prudent to pause at al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb and date the version to year 210, al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb’s estimated date of death. Once all the versions have been studied, we might further study whether the *sanad* of this version contributes to our overall conclusion.

Furthermore, it should be noted that there has been interest in the identity of al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb in the recent Shī‘ite scholarship. In this regard, Zakī al-Dīn al-Mawlā ‘Ināyatallāh ‘Alī al-Qahbānī, in his *Majma‘ al-Rijāl*,⁵⁷² brings up new suggestions regarding the identity of al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb. In his discussion, he concludes that al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb and al-Naḍr b. Suwayd are the same person; a very well known reporter who narrates a great number of traditions.⁵⁷³ Al-Qahbānī’s reasoning is that in the Shī‘ite *rijāl* works there is no description of al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb. This is rather unusual. He further argues that this is apparent in al-Najāshī’s *Rijāl* and in Ibn Bābawayh’s *Mashykhah*. In al-Najāshī’s *Rijāl*, Naḍr b. Suwayd was mentioned with the title (*nisba*) al-Ṣayrafī, and in another place, when al-Najāshī mentions Khālīd b. Mād al-Qalānisī, al-Qahbānī says that he has narrated from Naḍr b. Shuayb al-Ṣayrafī, therefore the two must have been the same person.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷² Zakī al-Dīn al-Mawlā ‘Ināyatallāh ‘Alī al-Qahbānī, *Majma‘ al-Rijāl*, Second, vol. 6, 7 vols. (Qum: Muassasa Maṭbū‘āt Ismā‘īliyyān, 1985).

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 6:180.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

There might be ground for such an argument as there is a tradition mentioned in al-Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*⁵⁷⁵ that was transmitted by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from al-Naḍr b. Suwayd from 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī'. In the chain of transmission al-Naḍr b. Suwayd was located in the usual transmission line of al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb, as a result, one might think that al-Naḍr b. Suwayd and al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb were the same person.

As a matter of fact al-Khūfī in his magnum opus *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth*, points out several occasions on which the two were 'mistakenly' switched around in the major Shī'ite works.⁵⁷⁶ However, it might be also possible that this occurred as a result of typographical error since the names are very similar and easy to mix up. Similarly, in response to al-Qahbānī's argument al-Najāshī (or later copy writers) might have copied the *nisba* wrongly as 'Naḍr b. Shu'ayb al-Ṣayrafī' instead of 'Naḍr b. Suwayd al-Ṣayrafī'. This possibility could be supported by the fact that in general al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb and al-Naḍr b. Suwayd have different transmission lines. Al-Naḍr b. Suwayd was a Kūfī scholar who later moved to Baghdad, was believed to be a very reliable *ḥadīth* reporter and was rated as *thiqa*.⁵⁷⁷ He usually reported from informers like Yaḥyā al-Ḥalabī, 'Abdallāh b. Sinān, 'Āsim b. Ḥumayd, Ḥusayn b. Mūsā 'Alī b. Rī'āb, al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān, etc. We could have carried a similar examination of these transmission lines as we did above for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, but at this stage it seems that such an undertaking is unnecessary. Further, al-Khūfī takes on al-Qahbānī's claim, and postulates that it is impossible that the two are the same person and considers such a suggestion a 'strange' thought. While doing so al-Khūfī gives a detailed account of the books in which traditions transmitted through al-Naḍr b. Suwayd and al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb were recorded and *isnād* paths through which they received and transmitted traditions.

⁵⁷⁵ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 5 (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1986), 369.

⁵⁷⁶ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Taḥṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, vol. 14 (No place: Muassasa al-Khūfī al-Islāmī, No date), 171–174.

⁵⁷⁷ Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 409.

Matn analysis:

We have three very short versions of the tradition, therefore it might be difficult to extract enough information to help with dating the tradition. The older versions are from al-Ṣaffār. The first (S1) reads: *‘Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun an yadda ‘ī annahu jama‘a al-Qur‘ān kullahu ṣāhirahu wa-bāṭinahu ghayru al-awṣiyā’.* And the second version (S2) reads: *Sa‘āla rajul Abā Ja‘far (a) fa-qāla Abū Ja‘far mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun yaqūl jama‘a al-Qur‘ān kullahu ghayrul al-awṣiyā’.* The third version (K1), which is likely to have been written at a later date, is from al-Kulaynī: *‘Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun an yadda ‘ī anna ‘indahū jamī‘a al-Qur‘ān kullihī ṣāhirihi wa-bāṭinihi ghayru al-awṣiyā’.*

The *matn* is in the statement format which initially gives the impression that it was the Imāms (*al-awṣiyā’*) who collated the Qur‘ān in its entirety. The mention of the words *ṣāhir* (outward meaning) and *bāṭin* (inward meaning) may further strengthen this argument, as it was mentioned above by Majlisī that the word *ṣāhir* refers to the wording of the Qur‘ān and the word *bāṭin* refers to the meaning of the Qur‘ān, which ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib allegedly wrote down in the margins of the text of the Qur‘ān that he collated after the demise of the Prophet.

However, there is a possibility of an alternative reading of *jamī‘*, according to which, especially in the early periods, the word *jamī‘* meant knowing the Qur‘ān by heart; and if that is the case, the meaning would not be about the collation of the Qur‘ān but about its true and definitive understanding which no one can claim to have. In this group of variants this reading of *jamī‘* seems to be more plausible, especially considering that K1’s text includes the wording *‘indahū jamī‘a al-Qur‘ān* (he possesses the collection of the Qur‘ān). In either case, the variants are still important for us as they allude to the existence of the Qur‘ān as a unified text at the time, and there was concern among Muslims regarding its true and definitive understanding. Therefore, it is still worthwhile to continue with the study of this group of variants.

The account was reportedly given by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir (57/676-733/114), the fifth Shī‘ite Imām according to the Twelver Shī‘ites. Since he was also considered an Imām and descendant of ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib, it is possible that although he did not witness the event of the collection of the Qur’ān himself, he presumably later received the account of the event through his father Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (38/659-95/712), the fourth Imām, and his grandfather Imām Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (4/626-61/680), the third Imām, who was around 6-7 years old when the alleged event took place six months after the demise of the Prophet. Although preservation of a tradition at such a young age is not uncommon especially in the case of such a significant event, alternatively, there were other individuals through whom Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī could have reached such a report. These include his brother Ḥasan b. ‘Alī or ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib himself who was his father. But in order to reach such a conclusion we need evidence, and there is no evidence to back up this argument. Therefore, this possibility remains a speculation.

At first sight, despite the shortness of the versions, there are visible differences between the two versions. In al-Ṣaffār’s version the pronoun *hu* is added to the word *anna* which is then followed by the word *jama‘a*; however in al-Kulaynī’s version the word *anna* stands alone and is followed by *‘indahū jami‘a*. In addition in S1 and in S2 *kullahu* is accusative while in K1 *kullihī* is genitive.

S1

Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun an yadda ‘ī annahu jama‘a al- al-Qur’ān kullahu ṣāḥirahu wa-bāṭinahu ghayru al-awṣiyā’.

(No one is able to claim to have collected the Qur’ān -in its entirety- inwardly and outwardly except the trustees.)

K1

Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun an yadda ‘ī anna ‘indahū jamī‘a al- al-Qur’ān kullihī ṣāḥirihī wa bāṭinihī ghayru al-awṣiyā’.

(No one is able to claim that he possesses the collection of the Qur’ān in its entirety, with its inward and outward [meaning], except the trustees.)

S2

Sa‘ala rajul Abā Ja‘far (a) faqāla Abū Ja‘far: Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun yaqūl jama‘a al-Qur’ān kullahu ghayru al-awṣiyā’

(A man asked Abū Ja‘far (peace be upon him) and Abū Ja‘far replied: No one is able to say that he collected the Qur’ān in its entirety except the trustees.)

The *matn* of K1 seems to be the result of transmission errors. *Jamī‘u al-Qur‘ān kulluhu* is a doubling. *Jamī‘u al-Qur‘ān* or *al-Qur‘ān kulluhu* means the same, *jamī‘* and *kull* together do not make sense; thus it is possibly the result of transmission errors. For instance, a copyist wrote *jamī‘* instead of *jama‘a* or read it from the manuscript he was copying, because the word was not well legible and he (or a later copyist) inserted ‘*inda* in order to make the sentence more comprehensible. One can also guess that someone purposely changed the original wording, placed the word ‘*inda* between *anna* and *hu* and changed *jama‘a* to *jamī‘*. In any case, the version K1 seems to be corrupt. The corruption is probably due to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and/or al-Kulaynī. Motzki emphasised this phenomenon when he countered Juynboll’s arguments:

But textual variations of “one” tradition may be due to reasons other than later manipulations. If reports are handed down from generation to another, they are bound to change. These changes are, as everyone knows from everyday experience, most significant in the case of oral transmission. Distortions in content decrease the more the process of transmission is standardised and/or the more reports can be firmly attributed to lasting “carriers”, for instance by writing them down.⁵⁷⁸

Motzki, based on his observation of the science of traditions, point out other possibilities for different versions of a tradition: First, a teacher might have ‘reported the text at different times in different words. This might have happened because the teacher considered the wording of the text less important than its content’.⁵⁷⁹ Second, it could be that the teacher had committed the traditions to his memory ‘and lectured only from his (sometimes failing) memory, or that he did not have his written notes to hand or did not want to use them at the time.’⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁸ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:91.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 78:1201.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 78:120.

Despite the differences, there are undeniable similarities between the two variants; therefore interdependence of the two versions is obvious and gives the impression that they were reported from the same source. This supports our earlier finding regarding the identity of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. In our lengthy discussion we covered the speculations stemming from the misspelling of the name Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, which had been conveniently assumed to be al-Ṣaffār. However, the analysis of the *matn* reveals that this is not the case as it is very difficult to come up with visible difference in a very short sentence during the copying process. It seems a single source passed the traditions orally but since it went through different transmitters at the recording stage, the differences occurred between al-Kulaynī's and al-Ṣaffār's versions.

Aside from backing up the earlier findings of the *isnād* analysis and pointing out the common source, *matn* analysis does not have much to offer for the two versions in taking us further than the source that we have identified: Muḥammad b. Sinān. The *matn* analysis only reveals that al-Ṣaffār and al-Kulaynī had different sources, which as we demonstrated above reach Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb and then finally go back to Muḥammad b. Sinān. Therefore, the earliest date we can trace the two versions to is 220, the date Muḥammad b. Sinān died. In other words, the versions existed in the first half of the third century.

As for the third version (S2), we may say that there it is very similar to the other two versions but it looks more complete in the sense that it briefly gives information about the context in which Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Bāqir uttered the statement regarding the collection of the Qur'ān. An unknown man allegedly asked him about it and in return he gave a terse answer to the question. In this version (S2) the word *yadda 'ī* was replaced by the word *yaqūl*. In addition the words *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* do not exist in the version S2 but the word *kullu* (*kullahu*) was used.

Since the common link for these versions was Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb, one might argue that he invented this seemingly more complete version to strengthen the version

that he already possessed. However, the question remains whether S2 is more complete: Although it might seem so owing to its proper introduction, the way how the statement was uttered missed certain information such as the words 'ẓāhir' and 'bāṭin'. Had Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb wanted to put together a more complete version he would certainly have included this crucial piece of information. Perhaps he could have also included some other details to 'perfect' this version, but it was not the case. Therefore, the evidence from *matn* analysis suggests that the version can be traced back to Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb's source al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb, whose date of death is roughly around year 210.

This date is earlier than the date we had reached when we examined the two other versions that could be traced to year 220. At this stage we might ask if it is possible to go beyond the date we have at hand and trace the versions to earlier than the year 210. Despite the nuances in the versions, the structure seems to be the same for all of them as in all of them the statement starts with the expression *Mā yastaṭī'u aḥadun*, and also they all have the expression *ghayru al-awṣiyā'* and some other similar words, as a result of which one might argue that the versions are interdependent and must come from a common source. We can now try to find out who this source might have been.

The intersection point for the versions was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb and therefore we might single him out as the usual suspect. But was it the case that he forged the three versions? In the light of the study we carried out above, it is highly unlikely; he does not seem to have any personal input and he probably simply transmitted them. This is obvious from the differences between versions S1, K1 and S2; had he fabricated them, common sense dictates that he could have rather merged them into a single tradition with a more perfect *isnād*. Or he could have kept the versions but made sure they did not miss any details that were given in the others. Further, he would have removed problematic people in the chains, especially someone like al-Naḍr b. Shu'ayb who would render the version

majhūl (unknown), a grading used by scholars to grade traditions that contain unknown personalities in their *asānīd*.

Upon ruling out this possibility, we might look for other possibilities for the common source. Until the chain of narration reaches Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir there is no intersection point for the versions that we have grouped into two. Our search for a connection between the two groups’ transmitters turned out to be fruitless. In other words, aside from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb there is no connection between the groups of transmitters as they do not appear in any *sanad* together; hence we might conclude that the only intersection point for the versions is Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir who might be the real source for the versions. If this is correct, with the help of the *isnād-cum-matn* method the tradition could be traced back to year 114, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir’s date of death.

Could that be possible? There seems to be no other explanation for the two groups of versions that are interdependent. There needs to be a source for the versions (S1, K1 and S2) and if this was not Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb it could only have been Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir. There are other arguments that may confirm this possibility. For instance, the fact that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124) spread narrations about the collection of the Qur’ān by Abū Bakr⁵⁸¹ (‘Umar was also involved in this project) and the completing of it by ‘Uthmān. Obviously, the issue of the correct Qur’ān was a hot item at the turn of the first Islamic century.

Group two variants

Another tradition regarding the complete and original knowledge of the Qur’ān by ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib and the Imāms of his offspring was reported in two different

⁵⁸¹ Harald Motzki, “The Collection of the Qur’ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Development.”

versions in *Baṣā'ir* and *al-Kāfī*. The versions have almost identical chains of transmission.

4. Al-Ṣaffār's tradition (S3):

Ḥaddathanā Aḥmad bin Muḥammad 'an al-Ḥasan bin Maḥbūb 'an 'Amr bin abī al-Miqdām 'an Jābir qāla sami'tu abā Ja'far ('a) annahu qāla:
Mā min aḥadin min al-nās yaqūlu annahu jama'a al-Qur'ān kullahu kamā anzala Allahu illā kadhdhābun wa-ma jama'ahu wa-mā ḥafīzahu kama anzala Allahu illā 'Alī bin abī Ṭālib wa-al-A'imma min ba'dihi.^{582 583}

The *matn* of the tradition seems in the tenor to be similar to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb's tradition, which we covered above. Similarly, it is in the form of a statement by Abū Ja'far and mentions the preservation of the Qur'ān by the Shī'ite Imāms. A difference is that the first Imām 'Alī is expressly mentioned. Due to the similarities in the content and differences in the *sanad*, we may argue that this is another statement that Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Bāqir allegedly made regarding the collection and the preservation of the Qur'ān.

The second version of the tradition was reported in *al-Kāfī* and has an almost identical *sanad* and *matn*:

5. Kulaynī's tradition (K2):

Muḥammad bin Yaḥyā 'an Aḥmad bin Muḥammad 'an b. Maḥbūb 'an 'Amr bin abī al-Miqdām 'an Jābir qāla: Sami'tu abā Ja'far 'alayhī al-salām yaqūlu:
Mā idda'a aḥadun min al-nās annahu jama'a al-Qur'ān kullahu kamā unzila illā kadhdhābun. Wa-mā jama'ahu wa-ḥafīzahu kamā nazzalahu Allahu

⁵⁸² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā'il Āl Muḥammad*, 2nd ed. (Qum: 'Ayatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī Library, 1983), 193.

⁵⁸³ It has been reported by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb from 'Amr b. abī al-Miqdām from Jābir, he said: I have heard from abū Ja'far (a) saying: Anyone among people, who says that he collected the Qur'ān in its entirety as God revealed it, is nothing but a great liar. Nobody has collected and memorised (or preserved) it (the Qur'ān) as God revealed it except 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib and after him the Imāms.

The tradition was also reported in the later works. Majlisī, in this regard, quoted al-Ṣaffār's whole version in his *Biḥār al-Anwār*.⁵⁸⁶ On the other hand, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Ḥusaynī Astarābādī (d. 940/1533), in his work entitled *Ta'wīl al-Āyāt al-Ẓāhirah fī Faḍā'il al-'Itrat al-Ṭāhirah*,⁵⁸⁷ which was dedicated to the Household of the Prophet, quoted the tradition from al-Kulaynī while only mentioning Jābir in the *sanad*. Yet, instead of Jābir, he wrote Jābir b. 'Abdallāh in the *sanad* of the tradition, which was then corrected in a footnote to Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī by the editor of the book.⁵⁸⁸

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Qummī al-Mashhadī (who died around 1713), in his work entitled *Tafsīr Kanz al-Daqa'iq wa-Baḥr al-Gharā'ib*,⁵⁸⁹ quotes the tradition directly from 'Alī Ḥusaynī Astarābādī's work, mentioning only Jābir b. 'Abdallāh in the *sanad*.⁵⁹⁰ Sayyid Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d. 1107/1695), in his work entitled *al-Burhān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*,⁵⁹¹ quotes the tradition from *Baṣā'ir*. Some other later Shī'ite works also quote the tradition and it is not necessary to mention them all here.

⁵⁸⁴ Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, 2008, 1:566.

⁵⁸⁵ Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad from b. Maḥbūb from 'Amr b. abī al-Miqdām from Jābir he said I have heard abū Ja'far may peace be upon him saying: Anyone among the people who claims that he collected the Qur'ān in its entirety, as it was revealed, is nothing but a great liar. Nobody has collected and preserved it, as God Exalted sent it down, except 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib and the Imāms, may peace be upon them, after him.

⁵⁸⁶ Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 1982, 89:88.

⁵⁸⁷ Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Ḥusaynī Astarābādī, *Ta'wīl al-Āyāt al-Ẓāhirā' fī Faḍā'il al-'Utrat al-Ṭāhirāh*, ed. Ustād Wali Ḥusayn, vol. 1 (Qum, Iran: Muassayī al-Nashri al-Islāmī, 1988).

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:243.

⁵⁸⁹ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Riḍā Qummī Mashadī, *Tafsīr Kanz al-Daqa'iq wa-Baḥr al-Ghā'ib*, ed. Husayn Dargāhī, 14 vols. (Tehran: Vazārat Farhanqī wa-Irshādi Islāmī, 1989).

⁵⁹⁰ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Riḍā Qummī Mashadī, *Tafsīr Kanz al-Daqa'iq wa-Baḥr al-Ghā'ib*, ed. Husayn Dargāhī, vol. 6 (Tehran: Wazārat Farhanqī wa-Irshādi Islāmī, 1989), 484.

⁵⁹¹ Sayyid Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī, *Al-Burhān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 5 vols. (Qum: Muassasah Bi'thah, 1995).

Isnād analysis:

Al-Ṣaffār's *sanad* (S3) goes through one of his preferred reporters Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, from him to al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, from him to 'Amr b. abī al-Miqdām, from him to a renowned companion of Jābir, and then finally reaches Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Bāqir himself. Al-Kulaynī's *sanad* (K2), which is identical to al-Ṣaffār's, save that it does not go through al-Ṣaffār but instead his informant Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār, and through him reaches Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. As we have extensively covered while analysing Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb's tradition, for one reason or another al-Kulaynī did not copy the tradition from al-Ṣaffār; instead similar to Khaṭṭāb's tradition he received it from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā.

As we have mentioned earlier, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was a favourite informant of al-Kulaynī and al-Kulaynī reported a great number of traditions from him. In the majority of cases, al-Kulaynī reports from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, and the transmission goes through Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā in between and al-Kulaynī in the end. There is no reason to suspect that al-Kulaynī did not narrate the tradition from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā as he was al-Kulaynī's contemporary and lived in the vicinity of al-Kulaynī.

After Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, both versions merge at Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and continue as a single strand. Therefore, we may provisionally conclude that the common link for this version was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. There are several Aḥmad b. Muḥammads mentioned in *rijāl* books who lived in al-Kulaynī's time or shortly before his time and could have reported the tradition to al-Kulaynī. Most of the time al-Kulaynī (or his informers) did not mention which Aḥmad b. Muḥammad transmitted the tradition. Hence, it could have been difficult to carry out an *isnād* analysis. But an examination of al-Najāshī's *Rijāl* reveals that among them, only Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā reported traditions from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb who is in the upper position of the *isnād* at hand. Thus, we can narrow down the possibilities to these two people:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh was a renowned scholar from the famous al-Ash‘arī tribe, based in Qum. According to biography works he was a very trustworthy person and authored several books. He reported from the ‘third Ḥasan’⁵⁹² or the 10th Imām ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī (214/829-254/868). Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā (d. 274/887) was an even more prominent scholar, again from the al-Ash‘arī tribe. His *kunya* (teknonym) was Abū Ja‘far. He was first based in Qum and then emigrated to al-Kūfa. He also authored several books.⁵⁹³ It is almost impossible to distinguish which Aḥmad b. Muḥammad transmitted the tradition to al-Ṣaffār and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. They were both contemporaries of al-Ṣaffār and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and resided in Qum. Neither al-Ṣaffār nor al-Kulaynī usually specifies who they referred to when they wrote Aḥmad b. Muḥammad in *asānīd*, yet al-Ṭūsī’s *Fihrist* states that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā transmitted traditions from Maḥbūb and did not mention Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh or any other Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as a transmitter of Maḥbūb’s (also called al-Zarrād) traditions.⁵⁹⁴ Al-Ṭūsī reached his conclusion through examining the usual transmission path of Maḥbūb’s traditions.

In addition, when al-Ṭūsī discussed ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām, he stated Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā again as one of the transmitters through whom al-Miqdām’s traditions were transmitted. This further strengthens the view that the tradition was transmitted through Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā. This view was also held by a 17th century Iranian scholar, Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥusayn Tafrīshī (d. 1030/1621), in his work *Naqd al-Rijāl*.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹² Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Beirut-Lebanon: Shirkat-i al-A‘lamī li al-Maṭbū‘āt, 2010), 77.

⁵⁹³ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 79–80.; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (Qum, Iran: al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, No date), 25.

⁵⁹⁴ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 46.

⁵⁹⁵ Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥusayn Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-Rijāl*, vol. 5 (Qum: Muassasah Āl al-Bayt, No date), 56.

There was no obstacle for any of them to have transmitted the tradition, and there is a lack of any compelling evidence about whether it was Ibn ‘Ubaydallāh or Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā. In such a situation it does not make much difference for the *isnād* analysis, which of them reported the tradition. We do not know the date of death of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh, but Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Ash‘arī, who was a contemporary of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh, died around 274; therefore we can conclude according to *isnād* analysis that, at any rate, this tradition was available during the third quarter of the third century. Is it possible to trace the tradition to an earlier source? According to the *isnād-cum-matn* method this might be possible. Firstly there is no indication that we should suspect that the tradition was transmitted either by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā or ‘Ubaydallāh. Secondly, evidence from the *rijāl* sources back up the possibility that either of them could have transmitted the tradition.

Third, both scholars could have transmitted traditions from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (d. 224/838); therefore, we may trace the tradition to him, the source of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. His *kunya* (teknonym) was Abū ‘Alī and he was a *mawlā* of Bajīla,⁵⁹⁶ based in al-Kūfa. He reported from the eighth Imām ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (148/766-203/819) and from six companions of the sixth Imām.⁵⁹⁷ There is no significant age gap between him and both of the Aḥmad b. Muḥammads. Further, although they were Qummī scholars, it was very common for the scholars of the time to travel back and forth between Qum and al-Kūfa, which were major Shī‘ite learning centres at the time. Hence we can conclude that al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb was the source for the tradition and consequently, the tradition can be traced to the last years of al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb.

⁵⁹⁶ An Arab subtribe.

⁵⁹⁷ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 46.

The person before al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb is ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām Thābit al-Ḥaddād (d. 172) who was a Kūfī scholar and *mawlā* of Banū ‘Ajl,⁵⁹⁸ a clan of Bakr b. Wā’il.⁵⁹⁹ He reported traditions from the fourth, fifth and the sixth Imāms,⁶⁰⁰ as well as Sunni traditions.⁶⁰¹ Al-Ṭūsī mentions that his *kunya* was Maymūn abū Miqdām, and that he narrated traditions from the fifth Imām through Jābir.⁶⁰² However, some of al-Ṭūsī’s assertions were contested by al-Khūfī as he rejected the idea that ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām reported from the fourth Imām, on the ground that there is no *sanad* in which al-Miqdām reports a tradition from the fourth Imām. He further argues that he was not a companion of the fourth Imām but that he was a companion of the fifth and the sixth Imāms.⁶⁰³ Al-Khūfī also argued against the *kunya* Maymūn abū Miqdām; he believed that this was an error of al-Ṭūsī as al-Miqdām did not use this *kunya*. His proof is that al-Najāshī did not mention this *kunya* in his *Rijāl* al-Khūfī’s argument certainly makes sense as there is no tradition in which al-Miqdām reports from the fourth Imām.⁶⁰⁴

Another important issue regarding ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām is the confusion regarding his name. 10th -11th century prominent Shī’ite scholar Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaḍā’irī, in his *Rijāl*, states the name as ‘Umar b. abī al-Miqdām, referring to ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām.⁶⁰⁵ Al-Ghaḍā’irī was a classmate of both al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī; they all studied with al-Ghaḍā’irī’s father al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ghaḍā’irī (d. 411/1020). Al-Ghaḍā’irī then became a shaykh of al-Najāshī.⁶⁰⁶ Some Shī’ite scholars have disputed the authenticity of the work and the issue will be examined in the next section.

⁵⁹⁸ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 278.

⁵⁹⁹ Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shiite Literature*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 205.

⁶⁰⁰ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 278.

⁶⁰¹ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:205.

⁶⁰² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 111.

⁶⁰³ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Taḥṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, No date, 14:80.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaḍā’irī al-Wāsiṭī al-Baghdādī, *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍā’irī*, 1st ed. (Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2001), 111.

⁶⁰⁶ Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī‘a ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, vol. 10 (Qum and Tehran: Ismā‘īlīyān and Kitābhāne’ī Islāmī, n.d.), 88.

Later on, al-Tafrīshī concludes in his *Naqd al-Rijāl* that ‘Umar b. abī al-Miqdām and ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām were the same person.⁶⁰⁷ However, this information is rejected by al-Mīlānī who, upon examining all the *rijāl* works, concludes that there was no such person called ‘Umar b. abī al-Miqdām in the *rijāl* works and no *asānīd* mentions this name. Therefore, al-Mīlānī postulates that al-Tafrīshī must have confused ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām Thābit with ‘Amr abī al-Miqdām b. Harm (*ha-ra-mim*) who is an unknown person.⁶⁰⁸

According to Sunnī sources, Ibn abī al-Miqdām was an extremist Shī‘ite who cursed the Companions of the Prophet, including the first three caliphs, as far as considering them apostates. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reports that ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām showed a particular hatred towards the third Caliph ‘Uthmān and cursed him.⁶⁰⁹ Ibn abī al-Miqdām died in 172, theoretically making it possible for al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb to have received the tradition from him. However, according to the *isnād-cum-matn* method, since we do not have any positive evidence through an *isnād* analysis it is not possible to trace the tradition from Ibn abī al-Miqdām and date it to the time period in which he lived.

The *sanad* then reaches Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī (d. 127/744-45 or 128/745-46) who was a Kūfī scholar and very well known to both Shī‘ite and Sunnī scholars of *ḥadīth*. He was a companion of the fifth and the sixth Imāms and extensively narrated traditions from both of them. He influenced both Shī‘ite and Sunnī scholars of his time as many of the prominent early Abbasid era scholars studied with him, and reported traditions from him, albeit opposing his Shī‘ite views.⁶¹⁰ His *kunya* was Abū

⁶⁰⁷ Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥusayn Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-Rijāl*, No date, 5:123–124.

⁶⁰⁸ Sayyid Fāḍil al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī, “‘Umar b. abī al-Miqdām” (Office of Āyatullāh Sayyid Fāḍil al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī), accessed May 31, 2014, <http://almilani.com/>.

⁶⁰⁹ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:205.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:86–87.

‘Abdallāh and/or Abū Muḥammad.⁶¹¹ Al-Najāshī expressed negative views regarding the merits of Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī and mentioned that a number of people who have reported from him are disparaged and undermined such as ‘Amr b. Shīr, Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣālih, Munakhkhal b. Jamīl and Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb.⁶¹² On the other hand, al-Ṭūsī refrains from passing any judgement about him and just gave general information about his works and usual paths of transmission.⁶¹³

There have been mixed views regarding the reliability of Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī both in Shī‘ite and Sunnī sources due to his esoteric views, such as his conviction regarding the supernatural powers of the Imāms, and ‘ghālī’ tendencies such as his belief in the doctrine of *raj‘a* and his transmission of traditions about the doctrine.⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ He was also accused of being the second head of Muḥīriyya, a Shī‘ite extremist sect founded by Muḥīra b. Sa‘īd al-Bajāli (d. 119). However, according to Modarressi, this allegation was false since there were indications that he remained faithful to the fifth and sixth Imāms.⁶¹⁶ Further, Nawbakhtī (d. 3rd Islamic century) argued that the extremist views associated with Jābir b. al-Ju‘fī were not true as they were attributed to him after his death (in 127 or 128) by some of the followers of ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya al-Ṭālibī (d. 129 or 131), who developed extremist ideas after ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya al-Ṭālibī’s death and attributed them to Jābir b. al-Ju‘fī.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹¹ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 127.

⁶¹² Ibid., 128.

⁶¹³ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 45.

⁶¹⁴ Maria Dakake, “Jāber Jo‘fī,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jaber-jofi>; Wilferd Madelung, “Jābir al-Ju‘fī,” ed. P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Brill Online, 2012), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/djabir-al-djufi-SIM_8481; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:86–88.

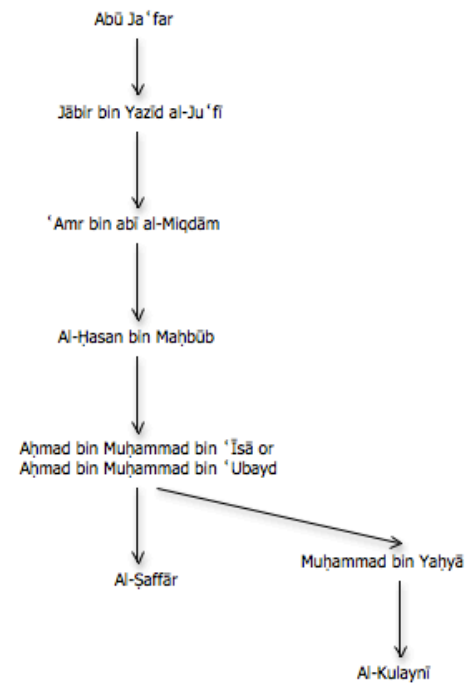
⁶¹⁵ According to the doctrine ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib, along with some of selected people, will return to the world to seek revenge from their enemies.

⁶¹⁶ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:87.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

The evidence for either view is not conclusive. Nevertheless, although his grading as a reporter by the Muslim biographers is not much of a concern for *isnād* analysis, his rumoured *ghālī* tendencies should be taken into consideration as they may be considered a motivation for him to fabricate the tradition. But since there is no certainty on the issue, this information on its own is not enough to reach a conclusion. At this stage, it is best to move on with *matn* analysis and see if we can get an earlier result. The *isnād* analysis of the tradition indicates that this tradition can only be traced back to the first half of the third century, al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb's date of death, 224.

Diagram 2



Matn analysis:

We have five versions for this tradition, the first of which is from al-Ṣaffār and the second from al-Kulaynī. Both *mutūn* (texts) give an account of a statement allegedly made by the fifth Imām, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāqir, regarding to the collection and the preservation of the Qurʾān by ʿAlī and the following Imāms. As we have discussed earlier, although Abū Jaʿfar did not witness the collection of the Qurʾān by ʿAlī, he had access to the people who could have informed him about the event. In addition, since the *mutūn* are also about the preservation of the Qurʾān by ʿal-Aʿimma, (the Imāms) it is possible but unattestable that he was in possession of the copy at the time as he was considered to be the fifth Imām.

The *mutūn* of the two versions (S3 and K2) at hand are slightly longer than the versions that we treated in the previous section and these versions seem to contain more information; they are especially significant in that the name of ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib as a collector of the Qurʾān is explicitly mentioned in these versions. Similarly to the previous versions (S1 and K1), both versions are in the statement format, therefore giving a general testimony of the event that includes the collection of the Qurʾān by ʿAlī and its preservation by the later Imāms. In this sense, the structure of all five versions that we have examined so far are the same albeit S2's different format in which the context of the statement was given.

S3

Mā min aḥadin min al-nās yaqūlu
annahu jama‘a al-Qur‘ān kullahu kamā
anzala Allāhu illā kaddhābun wa-mā
jama‘ahu wa-mā ḥafīẓahu kamā
anzala Allāhu illā ‘Alī bin abī Ṭālib wa
al-A‘immah min ba‘dihī.

Anyone among people, who says that
he collected the Qur‘ān in its entirety
as God revealed it, is nothing but a
great liar. And nobody has collected
and preserved it (the Qur‘ān) as God
revealed it except ‘Alī bin abī Ṭālib and
after him the Imāms.

K2

Mā idda‘ī aḥadun min al-nās annahu
jama‘a al-Qur‘ān kullahu kamā unzila illā
kaddhābun. Wa-mā jama‘ahu wa ḥafīẓahu
kamā nazzalahu Allāhu Ta‘ālā illā ‘Alī bin
abī Ṭālib wa-al-A‘immah min ba‘dihī
‘alayhim al-salām.

Anyone among people who claim that he
collected the Qur‘ān in its entirety, as it was
revealed, is nothing but a great liar. And
nobody has collected and preserved it, as
God Exalted sent it down except ‘Alī bin abī
Ṭālib and the Imāms, may peace be upon
them, after him.

The *mutūn* of S3 and K2 seem to be identical save minor differences. They both begin with pronoun *mā* and continue with the same statement, except K2 uses the word *idda‘ā* instead of *yaqūlu*, and then S3 continues as an active sentence with the use of *anzala Allāhu illā*; however, at this stage K2 turns into a passive sentence and uses *unzila illā*. In addition, S3 uses *anzala* instead of *nazzala*. Aside from these, there are no significant differences between the two versions.

The statement was obviously made in defensive form; perhaps somebody questioned the Imām regarding the other compilations of the Qur‘ān and in return, he issued a strong statement against those who ‘claim’ that they have collected the Qur‘ān, and accused them of being great liars (*kaddhābun*). It might be also in the context of general claims about the collection of the Qur‘ān by the first three caliphs. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir felt obliged to encounter these claims and to issue a strong statement, so as a result he uttered this tradition.

Whatever the context, the initial examination indicates that the versions are certainly interdependent as the structures are strikingly similar. The two versions seem to stem from a master version and it is likely that the few variations occurred when Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā or Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh transmitted the tradition to al-Ṣaffār and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. It is also probable that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā or Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh paraphrased his version when he reported the tradition, or the recorders al-Ṣaffār and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā edited the tradition upon receiving it. This was quite normal as Motzki pointed out earlier, and commonly occurred in the *ḥadīth* recording process.

Consequently, the initial analysis of the versions proves the existence of a common link, who was most likely Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā or alternatively Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh. These are all possibilities and we can only come to a conclusion upon examining the *mutūn* in detail.

An important point to consider at this junction is that all five versions began with Arabic particle *mā*, which is used as a negative particle. This is yet another strong indication that there might have been a single source for all these versions and since the versions intersect at Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī, one could conclude that it was he who forged and/or disseminated the versions. Considering his controversial personality and accusation of *ghālī* tendencies this is not inconceivable. However, we still have a version that skips Jābir and reaches the fifth Imām through ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī, preventing us from reaching such a conclusion.

The other problematic issue is that excluding the version that goes through ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī, there are two different traditions and four versions that seem to be very similar to each other and were reported by the same person, Jābir. If this was an original statement of Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir, there are two possible explanations for how it happened that Jābir managed to report the two similar traditions from Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir: First, there were two

occasions on which Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir made the statement and Jābir was present on both occasions, hence managing to report two different traditions on the issue. This seems to be rather implausible since considering that there were not many traditions on the issue and most of the existing traditions were reported by Jābir, it is unlikely that he would be present on both of the occasions when Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir allegedly made the statements. Moreover, the differences between the versions are so minimal that it would not have been necessary to record both of them separately. Having said that, one should bear in mind that Jābir was one of the first Shī‘ites and Muslim scholars who authored a *tafsīr* work,⁶¹⁸ thus it would be normal for him to show interest in traditions regarding the Qur’ān and to collect them.

As we have seen, the striking similarities in the *mutūn* of the variants indicate that there is a strong possibility that the variants were derived from each other. This leads us to consider a second possibility: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bāqir made the statement only on one occasion and Jābir was present when the event took place. But he reported the tradition to two people (‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām and al-Munakhkhal) at different times and therefore his memory failed him on either occasions, and therefore we have the different variants which are thought to be different traditions. Although this scenario is not improbable, we have evidence that Jabir was among the few early scholars who wrote down the traditions that he received⁶¹⁹ and therefore, it was likely that he would have transmitted them from his records, not from his memory. Especially considering the vast number of traditions that he possessed this would make more sense since it would have been difficult for him to recall all the traditions that he had.

⁶¹⁸ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 127.

⁶¹⁹ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:92.

The third possibility is that somebody in the transmission line tampered with Jābir's original report by adding to it. If this is the case, the *isnād-cum-matn* method might be able to identify who the person was who tampered with the tradition. In order to find an answer to the question we should find out which version(s) were corrupted. A quick examination of the *asānīd* of the variants would rule out the possibility of corruption in the variants S1, S2 and K1 which we can call group one. The evidence for this conclusion is the *sanad* of S2 which goes through a different transmission line that gives us reasonable confidence to argue that it would have been more difficult to corrupt this version since we have two different *sanad* paths for the variants S1, S2 and K1 and therefore, it is less likely that this group of traditions could have been corrupted. However, it should be noted that we do not rule out the possibility of fabrication of all the variants but our focus at this point is to identify if such a corruption took place.

The comparison of the *mutūn* of the two groups of variants (S1, S2, K1 and S3, K2) might also back up this finding, since the *mutūn* of the first group are more concise and do not carry any offensive statement; rather they are informative. The *mutūn* of the second group, however, are obviously aimed at accusing and insulting individuals who were thought to have collected the Qur'ān and hence carries a strong sectarian undertone. This attitude is incongruous with the general behaviour of the fifth Imām Abū Ja'far who adopted a moderate approach towards Sunnīs and embraced political quietism in the face of Umayyad oppression. Furthermore, considering that he was based in Madina, under constant surveillance of the Umayyad rulers, it would have been a highly imprudent move for him to make such a direct statement that accused the first three Caliphs of being great liars and praised 'Alī as the only real compiler of the Qur'ān. For the Umayyad rulers this could easily been considered a political statement and in return given enough reason to have him killed.

Therefore, evidence from both *isnād* and *matn* analysis points to the group two variants. The *asānīd* of traditions S3 and K2, however, goes through a single transmission line, therefore making it more vulnerable to tampering by transmitters. At this point we can study the transmitters in the *isnād* in order to identify a possible culprit for the corruption.

As we have examined above, there are two people in the chain of narration who might have had the motivation for the tampering with the tradition and may be considered suspects: Jābir and ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām. Among these the possibility of Jābir tampering the tradition remains slim since he also transmitted what we consider the master version; it would have been unlikely for him to transmit both the original and the corrupted version. If he had such an objective he could have kept the master version only to himself and disseminated the version that he had tampered with. Dissemination of the two versions that have almost identical structure would have been embarrassing for him as his students would have immediately noticed the striking similarities between the two versions and figured out that at least one of them was corrupted, if not both of them. Furthermore, in terms of motivation, as we have covered above, accusations of him for being an extremist remain inconclusive; therefore we cannot be sure if he had the motivation to produce a tampered version of the tradition.

On the other hand, there is no doubt regarding the motivation of ‘Amr b. abī al-Miqdām who was known to be a notorious *ghālī*. In addition, we have also noted that he openly expressed his enmity towards the Companions and showed a special hatred towards the third Caliph ‘Uthmān who is widely accepted as the person who commissioned the collection of the official version of the Qur’ān. Is it possible that al-Miqdām heard the tradition from Jābir and changed it to use it for his campaign against ‘Uthmān? Jābir was a very prominent scholar of his time and as we have

discussed earlier it was not uncommon practice for the extremists to attribute their ideas to him⁶²⁰ after his death perhaps in order to legitimise them. Consequently, it is very likely that al-Miqdām was the culprit who tampered with the tradition due to his extremist views. This view can further be enforced by the fact that only the variants that come through al-Miqdām contain the name of ‘Alī as the ‘collector’ of the Qur’ān; all the other variants refer to the Imāms in general. Therefore, it is probable that al-Miqdām also inserted the name of ‘Alī into the text to give the word *jama‘a* the meaning of the collection of the Qur’ān, in order to counter the traditions that are about ‘Uthmān’s collation of the Qur’ān. Nevertheless, the similarities between the texts of S1, S2, S3, K1 and K2 strengthen our earlier conclusion that the traditions are interdependent and can be dated back to Abū Ja‘far and his date of death 114.

Group three variants

There are two more variants that were reported on the authority of Abū Ja‘far:

6. Al-Qummī’s version (Q1):

Ḥaddathanā Ja‘far bin Aḥmad qāla ḥaddathanā ‘Abd al-Karīm bin ‘Abd al-Raḥīm qāla ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin ‘Alī al-Qurashī ‘ān Muḥammad bin Fuḍayl ‘an Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī ‘ān Abī Ja‘far (‘a) qāla: Mā ahadun min hadhihi al-umma jama‘a al-Qur’ān illā waṣiyyun Muḥammadin (ṣ).^{621 622}

7. Al-Ṣaffār’s version (S4):

⁶²⁰ See Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. Beirut-Lebanon: Shirkat al-A‘lamī li-al-Maṭbū‘āt, 2010, 127 and Modarressi, Hossein. *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shiite Literature*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, 87-93.

⁶²¹ ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, ed. Ṭayyib Musawī Jazāirī, vol. 2 (Qum: Dar al-Kitāb, 1983), 451.

⁶²² No one from this nation (umma) has collected the Qur’ān except the trustee (wasiyyun Muḥammadin) of Muḥammad (ṣ).

Ḥaddathanā ‘Abdallāh bin Āmir ‘an Abī ‘Abdallāh al-Barqī ‘an Al-Ḥasan bin
‘Uthmān ‘an Muḥammad bin Fuḍayl ‘an al-Thumālī ‘an Abī Ja‘far (‘a)
qāla: qāla Abū Ja‘far (‘a): Mā ajidu min hadhihi umma man jama‘a al-
Qur‘ān illā al-awṣiyā’ u. ^{623 624}

In both *asānīd*, Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī reports the tradition from Abū Ja‘far and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl reports from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī. After Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl the chain of transmission separates into two strands as al-Qummī’s version goes through Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī > ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm > Ja‘far b. Aḥmad > ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī and al-Ṣaffār’s version goes through al-Ḥasan b. ‘Uthmān > Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Barqī > ‘Abdallāh b. Āmir > al-Ṣaffār.

Isnād analysis:

We may now proceed with examining both *asānīd*. As we have mentioned in the previous chapter, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, written by ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 307/980) is one of the most important sources of tradition for Shī‘ite faith as it is considered one of the earliest sources. Al-Qummī was one of the teachers of Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī (d. 941). Shī‘ite scholars have generally accepted the work as an authentic source as the author informs that he only narrates from reliable narrators.⁶²⁵ However, they also argue that the copy that exists today is not the same as that which was written by al-Qummī. They argue that the book consists of two parts: One part is narrated by al-Qummī to his student Abū Faḍl al-‘Abbās. The second part consists of Abū Faḍl al-‘Abbās’s own chains of narration that are independent from al-Qummī’s chains of narration which goes back to Abū Ja‘far through his companion Abū Jārūd.⁶²⁶

⁶²³ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍa’il Āl Muḥammad*, 194.

⁶²⁴ No one from this nation can be found who has collated the Qur‘ān except the trustees.

⁶²⁵ Abū al-Qasim al-Khū‘ī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt* (Maktab al-Ādāb al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī’, 1976), 49–50.

⁶²⁶ Ja‘far Subhānī, *Kulliyāt fī ‘Ilm al-Rijāl*, 313–315.

The tradition at hand is not reported through Abū Jārud, hence we may assume that it is collected by al-Qummī himself who died in year 329. He apparently received the tradition from Ja‘far b. Aḥmad. There is not much information about Ja‘far b. Aḥmad in *rijāl* works; he is thought to be an unknown person. The only information we have about him is that he was a disciple of the tenth Imām, ‘Alī al-Hādī al-Naqī (212 or 214/827 or 830-254/868)⁶²⁷ and he reports several traditions in *Tafsīr al-Qummī*. Although there is not much information about him, since we have the information that he was a disciple of Imām al-Hādī, we may say that it was possible for al-Qummī to receive the tradition from him and include it in his book.

He apparently received the tradition from ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm who is also an unknown person as there is no information about him in the *rijāl* works. He only appears in *Tafsīr al-Qummī* and reports 15 traditions from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī and Ja‘far b. Aḥmad reports traditions from him.

The next person in the chain of narration is Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī, whose real name was Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Abū Ja‘far al-Qurashī. His nickname (*laqab*) was Abū Samīnah and he was a nephew of Khallād al-Maqrī’. He initially resided in Kūfa but then moved to Qum. He was believed to be a disciple of the eighth Imām, ‘Alī Riḍā.⁶²⁸ Al-Najāshī considered him very weak, corrupt in his faith and an unscrupulous person. He was also accused of being a *ghālī*.⁶²⁹

Al-Khūfī mentions the possibility of two different personalities that have been united under the name of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Abū Ja‘far al-Qurayshī.

⁶²⁷ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, vol. 5 (No place: Muassasah al-Khūfī al-Islāmī, No date), 16.

⁶²⁸ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, vol. 17 (No place: Muassasah al-Khūfī al-Islāmī, No date), 319–323.

⁶²⁹ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl Al-Najāshī*, 332.

He argues that it is probable that the nickname Abū Samīna belonged to some other person who was undoubtedly a weak and unscrupulous person but for some reason was united with Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī; therefore those accusations were falsely attributed to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī.⁶³⁰ Al-Khūfī’s argument casts doubt on the allegation that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī was an extremist. Even if we accept al-Khūfī’s argument, there are two other problematic individuals in the chain of narration before it reaches to Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl. However we may continue examining the remaining two people in the chain as al-Ṣaffār’s version also goes through Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl and Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī before reaching Abu Ja‘far.

Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān b. Jarīr was a Kūfī scholar who authored several books and was also a prolific *ḥadīth* transmitter. He was well regarded by both Sunni and Shī‘ite sources and considered to be *thiqa*. He died in 194/807 or 195/808.^{631 632} He was believed to be a disciple of the sixth Imām and was a client of the tribe of Banū Ḍabbah.⁶³³ Despite the problematic issues regarding Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī we have the information that he was a disciple of the eighth Imām who lived between years 148 and 203, and therefore it is possible for Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qurashī to have met and received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān who died in year 194. The last person in the *sanad* before it reaches to Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir is Abū Ḥamza Thābit b. Dīnār al-Thumālī. He was a Kūfī client of al-Muḥallab b. abī Ṣufrah and a very prominent scholar and *ḥadīth* transmitter.⁶³⁴ He was a disciple of three Shī‘ite Imāms: ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. He authored several books,

⁶³⁰ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, No date, 17:319–323.

⁶³¹ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, First edition, vol. 9 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 405–406.

⁶³² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Jawad Ḥayyūmī Iṣfahānī (Qum: Muassasa va Nashri Islāmī, 1994), 292.

⁶³³ Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn, *A‘yān al-Shī‘ah*, vol. 10 (Beirut: Dār al-Ta‘āruf, n.d.), 37–39.

⁶³⁴ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 114.

including a book on exegesis of the Qur'ān. He died in 148-150.⁶³⁵ He was reportedly praised by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and highly esteemed by Shī'ite scholars. The biographical information confirms that it is possible for Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl to have received the tradition from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī and for Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī to have received it from Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

As for al-Ṣaffār's version, he apparently received the tradition from 'Abdallāh b. Āmir b. 'Umrān. There is no information about him in the classical *rijāl* works; al-Khū'ī is the only scholar who mentions a little information about him in his work.⁶³⁶ There is no information regarding his date of death or place of activity.

'Abdallāh b. Āmir b. 'Umrān received the tradition from Aḥmad b. abī 'Abdallāh al-Barqī who was a Qummī scholar, the son of Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī and a contemporary of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād (who died around the second quarter of the third century) as al-Najāshī mentions that when 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād visited Qum, he stayed in the house of Aḥmad b. abī 'Abdallāh al-Barqī.⁶³⁷ He was also a disciple of the ninth and the tenth Imāms. He was a very prominent Shī'ite scholar of his time and authored a number of books, most importantly *al-Mahāsīn*.^{638 639} In addition, Al-Barqī, who died in 274/888 or 280/894 was a *shaykh* of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī.

Although we do not have much information about 'Abdallāh b. Āmir, with the help of the information provided above we may conclude that there was not much of a

⁶³⁵ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:377.

⁶³⁶ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, vol. 11 (No place: Muassasah al-Khū'ī al-Islāmī, No date), 244–245.

⁶³⁷ Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl Al-Najāshī*, 229.

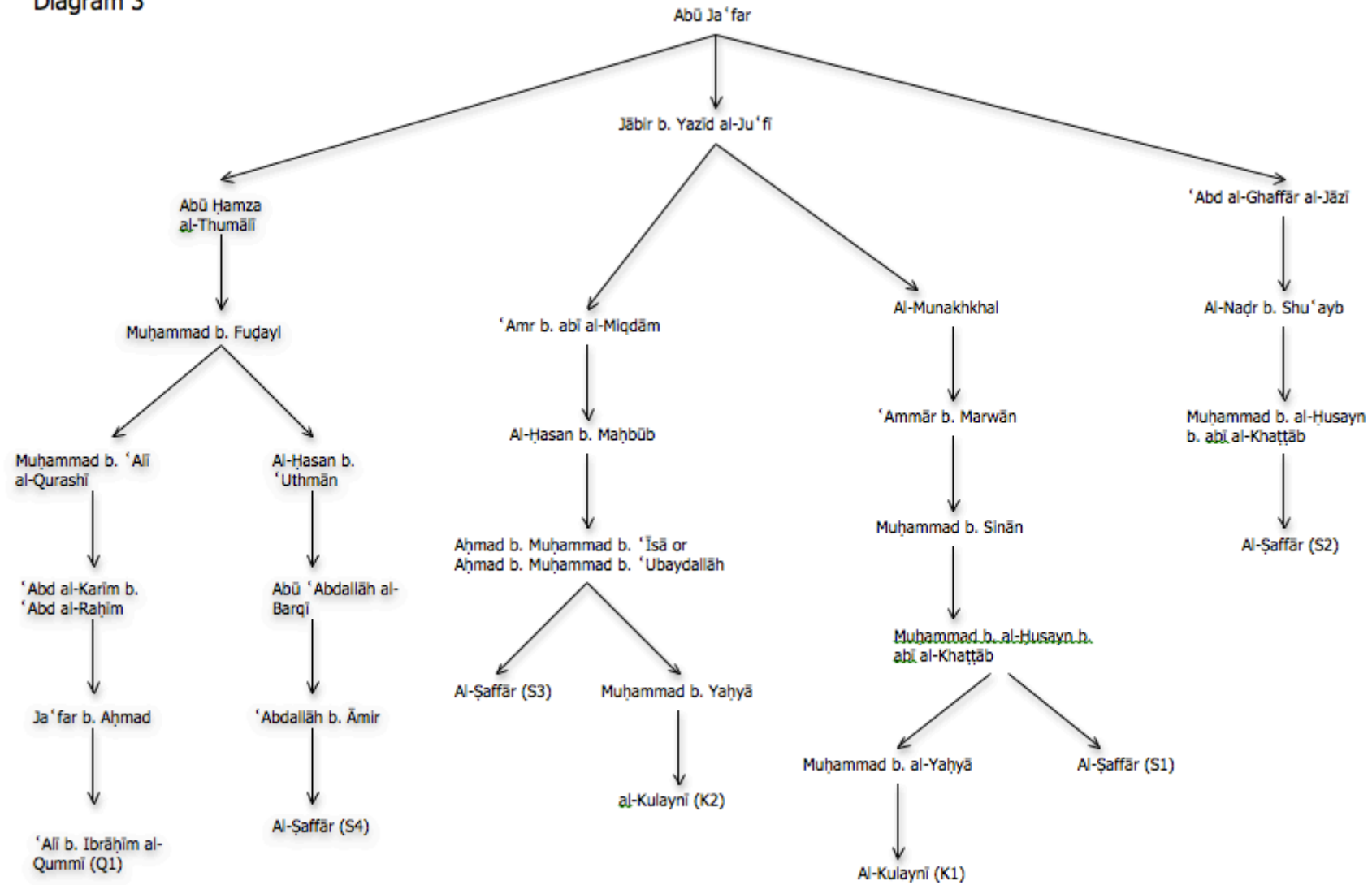
⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶³⁹ For more information on al-Barqī see Andrew J. Newman. *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism*. Surrey: Curzon, 2000. and Roy Vilozy. "A Shī'i Life Cycle According to Al-Baqī's Kitāb al-Mahāsīn." *Arabica* 54, no. 3 (July 2007): 362–96.

time gap between al-Ṣaffār and Aḥmad b. abī ‘Abdallāh al-Barqī and thus it was possible for ‘Abdallāh b. Āmir to see both of them and transmit the tradition. Al-Barqī apparently received the tradition from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Uthmān who was also an unknown person. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Uthmān received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl who, as we have noted above, died in 194/807 or 195/808. Although al-Ḥasan b. ‘Uthmān is an unknown person and we do not have any information regarding him, it is still possible for him to have transmitted the tradition as there is no significant time gap between al-Barqī and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl; one person is enough to connect the two to each other and this was perhaps al-Ḥasan b. ‘Uthmān. From Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl the transmission line reaches Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī and from him to Abū Ja‘far.

As a result of the study of the *ḥadīth* clusters that are attributed to Abū Ja‘far we have established three independent chains of transmission that reaches to Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir, which makes him both the common link, and the source of the traditions. Abū Ja‘far resided in Madina and therefore we may say that the traditions were in circulation in year 114, in Madina.

Diagram 3



Matn analysis:

The texts for both versions are very short; they both contain similar themes and some similar wording which gives the impression that they are interdependent texts. However, they are not identical in the sense that there are signs of paraphrasing in the texts.

Q1

Mā ahadun min hadhihi al-
umma jama‘a al-Qur’ān illā
waṣiyyun Muḥammadin (ṣ).

No one from this nation
(ummah) has collected the
Qur’ān except the trustee
(wasiyyun Muḥammadin)
of Muḥammad (s).

S4

Mā ajidu min hadhihi umma
man jama‘a al-Qur’ān illā al-
awṣiyā‘u.

No one from this nation can be
found who has collated the
Qur’ān except the trustees.

They both begin with particle *mā* but al-Ṣaffār’s version contains an additional pronoun (*man*) and it states that the collators of the Qur’ān were *al-awṣiyā‘u*, while al-Qummī’s version states that the collators of the Qur’ān were *waṣiyyun Muḥammadin*. As the texts are very short we cannot say much about them, but it is obvious that the texts are interdependent and presumably were paraphrased during either the recording or oral transmission process. Therefore, through examining the texts we can trace the variants to a common source or in this specific case to a partial common link, who was Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, and then through him via Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī, Abū Ja‘far.

Upon the examination of the last two variants (Q1 and S4) it becomes clear that Abū Ja‘far is both the common link and source for these seven variants and there are

four pcls for the variants: Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Īsā or Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh and Ibn abī Khaṭṭāb.

Although these two variants (Q1 and S4) are very short they are very helpful for the evaluation of this complex of traditions. The *mutūn* of K1, S1, S2 and S4 mention only *al-awṣiyā’*. According to the *asānīd*, these texts go back to three different transmitters from Abū Ja‘far (‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī, Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī and Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī). This seems to be the original version of Abū Ja‘far’s statement wherein the words *jama‘a al-Qur’ān kullahu ḡāhirahu wa-bāṭinahu ghayru al-awṣiyā’* seem to not indicate the collection is comparable to that accomplished by Zayd b. Thābit, but rather a complete knowledge of the text and its correct understanding.

In K2 and S3 of the Abū Ja‘far complex, ‘Alī is added to *al-awṣiyā’* and in Q1 *al-awṣiyā’* are even replaced by *waṣī Muḥammad*, i.e. ‘Alī. These changes must be ascribed to one of the transmitters after Jābir b. Yazīd in the case of S3 and K2 and to one of the transmitters after Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl in Q1 who tried to give ‘Alī the priority among *al-awṣiyā’* in the ‘collection’ (perhaps here the word is already intended in the literal meaning) and preservation of the Qur’ān. But this was probably not the original statement of Abū Ja‘far.

This tendency to give priority to ‘Alī continues in the traditions ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (Diagram 5), which contain varying texts, and in the tradition of al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī (Diagram 4) who ascribed it via al-Suddī and ‘Abd Khayr to ‘Alī himself. That means that in the purely Shī‘ī traditions ‘Alī gains the priority of collecting and preserving the Qur’ān only in the generation after Abū Ja‘far or even later. The model for it was probably the tradition of Ibn Sīrīn.

Concluding comments

The overall finding of this Chapter is that these variants were not about the physical collection of the Qur'ān. Nevertheless, they still have three major implications. First, the traditions allude to the existence of the Qur'ān as a unified text at the time, and there was concern among Muslims regarding its true and definitive understanding. Second, there was an ongoing debate surrounding the collection of the Qur'ān (regarding who was first collector/collator of the Qur'ān) during the second Islamic century in which Shī'ite scholars gave the priority of collecting and preserving the Qur'ān to 'Alī.⁶⁴⁰ 'Amr b. abī al-Miqdām who was a *ghālī*, did not hesitate to tamper with an original tradition of Abū Ja'far in order to give this priority to 'Alī as part of his sectarian campaign. Third, the *isnād-cum-matn* method is competent in detecting *ḥadīth* forgery in its analysis of Muslim sources.

⁶⁴⁰ This tendency in the Shī'ite sources becomes more obvious with the study of the remaining tradition on 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān.

CHAPTER SIX

TRADITIONS ATTRIBUTED TO ‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB:

There are six variants allegedly reported from ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib regarding the event of the collection of the Qur’ān: From Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 377/995 or 998), Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 394/1004), Al-Khawārizmī (d. 567/1172), Abū Nu‘aym (336/947-430/1038) and two traditions from al-Ḥaskānī (d. 490/1096). Three of these traditions were taken from the fourth century sources, one of them from the sixth century and two from the fifth century. Aside from Ibn al-Nadīm’s tradition, the sources were Sunnī sources and hence different from what we have covered in the earlier sections. They all have *asānīd* that allegedly reach ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib and report the event that ‘Alī, immediately after the demise of the Prophet, locked himself up in his house and preoccupied himself with the process of the collection of the Qur’ān.

Due to the similarities in the *mutūn* of these traditions I will be considering them as variants. In order to better examine the variants we may divide them into two groups: Ibn al-Nadīm’s and al-Ḥaskānī’s first version (H1) reaches ‘Abd Khayr through Zuhayr al-Sadūsī; this is the first group and Abū Nu‘aym, al-Khawārizmī’s and al-Ḥaskānī’s second variants reach ‘Abd Khayr through Ibn Maymūn; that is the second group. Since Aḥmad b. Fāris’ tradition has no *sanad*, we must exclude it from the *isnād* analysis. However, we may speculate that he perhaps copied the tradition from some other books but mentioned only al-Suddī’s name without including the full *sanad*, as this method of recording traditions might occur occasionally.

Aḥmad bin Fāris’s tradition (Ah1):

Wa rawā al-Suddī ‘an ‘Abd Khayr ‘ān ‘Alī raḍīya Allāh ta‘ālā ‘anhu:
Annahu ra‘ā min al-nās tīratan ‘inda wafāti Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ta‘ālā
‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam fa-aqsama ‘alā yaḍa‘a ‘alā ḡahrihi ridā’ an ḥattā
yajma‘a al Qur’ān qāla: Fa jalasa fi baytihi ḥattā jama‘a al-Qur’ān. Fahuwa

awwalu muṣṣḥafin jumi‘a fīhi al-Qur‘ān. Jama‘ahu min qalbihi. Wa-kāna
‘inda Āl Ja‘far.^{641 642}

Isnād analysis:

The first tradition that we treat was narrated in *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Nadīm, (d.385/995 or 998), a famous Shī‘ite scholar and biographer.⁶⁴³ His version’s transmission line goes through Ibn al-Munādī then al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād, al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī, al-Suddī and finally reaches ‘Abd Khayr, who then reports it from ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib. This variant merges together with al-Ḥaskānī’s first version at Zuhayr al-Sadūsī and therefore we may initially observe that Zuhayr al-Sadūsī is the common link, according to Juynboll’s definition. The partial common links are: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn.

1. Ibn al-Nadīm’s tradition (In1):

Qāla Ibn al-Munādī: Ḥaddathanā al-Ḥasan bin al-‘Abbās, qāla ‘ukhbirtu ‘an
‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin abī Ḥammād ‘an al-Ḥakam bin Zuhayr al-Sadūsī ‘an al-
Suddī ‘an ‘Abd Khayr ‘an ‘Alī ‘alayhi al-salām
Annahu ra‘ā min al-nās ṭīratan ‘inda wafāt al-Nabī. Fa-aqsama annahu lā
yaḍa‘a an ṣāhrihu ridā’ ahu ḥattā yajma‘a al-Qur‘ān. Fa jalasa fī baytihi

⁶⁴¹ Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī abū al-Ḥusayn, al-Sāhibī fī Fiqh al-Lughā al-‘Arabī wa-Masā‘ilḥā wa-Sunan al-‘Arab fī-Kalāmihā (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma‘arif, 1993), 206.

⁶⁴² ‘Narrated by al-Suddī from ‘Abd Khayr from ‘Alī may God the exalted be pleased with him: He [‘Alī] perceived a bad omen connected with the people at the time of the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and give him peace. So he swore that he would not put his cloak on his back until he had compiled the Qur‘ān. He stayed, therefore, in his house until he compiled the Qur‘ān. This was the first manuscript in which the Qur‘ān was compiled. He collected it from his memory. The manuscript was with the family of Ja‘far.’

⁶⁴³ See, J.W. Fück. “Ibn al-Nadīm.” Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Brill Online, 2014.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/Ibn-al-nadim-SIM_3317, and Hans H. Wellisch. “The First Arab Bibliography: *Fihrist* Al-‘Ulūm.” University of Illinois, 2007.

thalathata ayyām ḥattā jama‘a al-Qur‘ān. Fa huwa awwal muṣṣhaf jumi‘a fihi al-Qur‘ān min qalbihi. Wa kāna al-muṣṣhaf ‘inda ahl Ja‘far.^{644 645}

2. Al-Ḥaskānī's version (Ḥa1):

Wa akhbarnā Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī qāla akhbaranā abī qāla haddathanā Abū ‘Alī al-Muqrī Ḥārith ‘an ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin abī Ḥammād ‘an al-Ḥakam bin Zuhayr ‘an al-Suddī ‘an ‘Abd al-Khayr ‘an ‘Alī:
Annahu ra‘ā min al-nās ṭayratān ‘inda wafāti Rasūl Allāh fa aqsama an lā yaḍā‘a ‘alā ṣahrihi radā‘a ḥattā jama‘a al-Qur‘ān. Fa-jalasa fī baytihi ḥattā jama‘a al-Qur‘ān fa-huwa awwalu muṣṣhafin jumi‘a fihi al-Qur‘ān. Jama‘ahu min qalbihi wa-kāna ‘inda Āl Ja‘far.^{646 647}

Starting from the end of the transmission line, the first person we study is Ibn al-Munādī (256/870-334/945-946).⁶⁴⁸ According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, (392-463) in his *Tārīkh Baghdād*,⁶⁴⁹ Ibn al-Munādī's full name was Aḥmad b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yazīd Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Munādī. He apparently was *thiqa* and

⁶⁴⁴ Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Nadīm and Riḍā Tajaddud, *Kitāb al-Fihrist al-Nadīm*, vol. 1 (No place: Taḥqīq, No date), 30.

⁶⁴⁵ ‘Ibn al-Munādī said: Al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās reported to me, "I received the information through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥammād from al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī from ‘Abd Khayr from ‘Alī, peace be upon him, that he [‘Alī] perceived a bad omen connected with the people at the time of the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and give him peace. So he swore that he would not take his cloak from his back until he had compiled the Qur‘ān. He stayed, therefore, in his house for three days until he compiled the Qur‘ān. This was the first manuscript in which the Qur‘ān was compiled from memory. The manuscript was with the family of Ja‘far.’

⁶⁴⁶ ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā'id al-Tafḍīl fī al-Āyāt al-Nāzilah fī Ahl al-Bayt*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmudī, Second edition (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-A‘lamī lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 2010), 26–27.

⁶⁴⁷ ‘I have been informed by Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī he said I have been informed by my father he said I have been told by Abū ‘Alī al-Muqrī Ḥārith from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād from al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr from al-Suddī from ‘an Abd al-Khayr from ‘Alī: He [‘Alī] perceived a bad omen connected with the people at the time of the death of the Prophet. He then took an oath that he would not put on his cloak until he has collected the Qur‘ān. He remained in his house until he had collected the Qur‘ān. It is the first manuscript in which it [the Qur‘ān] was collected. He collected it from his heart and it is with the people of Ja‘far.’

⁶⁴⁸ According to al-Nadīm the date of death is 334; however according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī the date of death is 336.

⁶⁴⁹ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 5, 17 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī 2001).

authored many books.⁶⁵⁰ Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. abī Ya‘lā (451-526) in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*,⁶⁵¹ also confirms this information and adds that he authored 400 books.⁶⁵² Ibn Nadīm in his *Fihrist*, states that Ibn al-Munādī was a resident of Baghdad and authored 120 books in the field of the science of the Qur‘ān.⁶⁵³

Ibn al-Nadīm also lived in Baghdad and wrote the first two chapters of his book in year 377 (987-988), so it was possible for him to have heard the tradition from Ibn al-Munādī. It is also possible that Ibn al-Nadīm saw the tradition in one of Ibn al-Munādī’s books but since he does not mention any book that he might have taken the tradition from and states ‘*qāla*’ in the beginning of the *sanad*, there is no problem in accepting that al-Nadīm personally received the tradition from Ibn al-Munādī.

Ibn al-Munādī allegedly received the tradition from al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās who in general transmits traditions in both Shī‘ite and Sunnī sources. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī gives his full name as al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās b. abī Mihrān abū ‘Alī al-Muqrī’ al-Rāzī; he was known as al-Jammāl.⁶⁵⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī states that he was a resident of Baghdad and was *thiqa*. People like Abū Sahl b. Ziyād reported from him.⁶⁵⁵ He died in 289 in Karkhāyā⁶⁵⁶ (Canal of Karkh), an area in western Baghdad. On the other hand, al-Najāshī gives his name as al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ḥarīsh al-Rāzī abū ‘Alī; he reports from the ninth Imām Muḥammad al-Taḳī al-Jawād and was graded as a very weak person. He wrote a book entitled *Innā Anzalnāhu*

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 5:110.

⁶⁵¹ Abī al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābali*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-‘Uthīmāy, vol. 3, 3 vols. (Makkah: Ummu al-Qur’a, 1999).

⁶⁵² Ibid., 3:5.

⁶⁵³ Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Nadīm and Riḍā Tajaddud, *Kitāb al-Fihrist al-Nadīm*, 1:41.

⁶⁵⁴ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 8 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 403.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 8:404.

fī Laylati al-Qadr, which allegedly contains fabricated traditions.⁶⁵⁷ Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, in his *Rijāl*, is even harsher in his criticism of al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās and states that he is very weak, his book is corrupt, his words are unreliable and his traditions need not be recorded.⁶⁵⁸ ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (648/125-726/1325), in his *Rijāl*, quotes *Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī* and agrees with him.⁶⁵⁹ Nevertheless, al-Ṣaffār in his *Baṣā'ir*, al-Qummī in his *Tafsīr*, al-Kulaynī in his *al-Kāfī*, and Ibn Bābawayh in his *al-Amālī*, report traditions that included al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ḥarīsh in their *asānīd*.

Al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās allegedly received the tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād who had been a resident of Kūfa but at some point moved to Qum and resided there. Al-Najāshī gives his *kunya* (teknonym) as Abū al-Qāsim and states that he was a *ṣayrafī* (money changer) and visited Qum and resided in the house of Aḥmad b. abī ‘Abdallāh al-Barqī. He was accused of being weak and *ghālī*.⁶⁶⁰ *Al-Ghaḍā'irī* mentions a different teknonym for him, Abū Muḥammad. Al-Ghaḍā'irī also reiterates that he was weak and *ghuluww* so he should not be relied upon.⁶⁶¹

On the other hand, al-Khū'ī strongly disagrees with these allegations made against ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād. He maintains that the allegations were not justified in labelling (*ramī*) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād as weak and *ghālī*.⁶⁶² He argues that it has not been attested to that the *Rijāl* book that has been attributed to al-Ghaḍā'irī is his work.⁶⁶³ Further, it is not clear if al-Najāshī attributed the statement ‘He was accused of weakness and *ghuluww*’ to Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī. Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī was his teacher and he trusted his statements; that being the case there is no reason for

⁶⁵⁷ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 60.

⁶⁵⁸ Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaḍā'irī al-Wāsiṭī al-Baghdādī, *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī*, 51–52.

⁶⁵⁹ Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. Muṭahhar ‘Allāma Ḥillī, *Rijāl Al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, vol. 1 (Najaf: Dār al-Dhā'ir, 1990), 214.

⁶⁶⁰ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 229.

⁶⁶¹ Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaḍā'irī al-Wāsiṭī al-Baghdādī, *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī*, 70–71.

⁶⁶² Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafsīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 5th ed., vol. 10 (Tehran: Markaz Nashr al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyah, 1992), 318.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

al-Najāshī not to mention his name and attribute the statement to an unknown person. Al-Khūfī has some additional evidence at his disposal: He postulates that al-Najāshī's judgement on the merits of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād could be a result of confusion. He believes there were two persons with similar names, one with *bin* in the name and the other without *bin*; yet al-Najāshī presents them as one person. He presents two pieces of evidence for his argument:

First, al-Najāshī mentioned 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād's *kunya* as Abū al-Qāsim who is a resident of Kūfa. When al-Najāshī mentioned the path of Ibrāhīm b. abī al-Bilād he gave the name as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād al-Kūfī whose *kunya* was Abū al-Qāsim. Some other works also mentioned this name similarly, therefore it is evident that al-Najāshī united the two names. Second, there are numerous traditions narrated from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād both in *al-Kāfī* and *al-Tahdhīb*, yet there is not a single tradition mentioned in them from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād. Thus, al-Khūfī questions how it is possible that al-Najāshī deals with a person who did not have even a single tradition in the most important Shī'ite ḥadīth works. He would have dealt with someone who had reported a number of traditions and authored a book. Therefore, he concludes that al-Najāshī committed a typographical error when he entered the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād in his book.

Al-Khūfī is not alone in his stance regarding the work. Ṭahrānī, in his study of the history of the book, had earlier expressed similar views. He argued that the book had not been available before the period in which al-Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673/1273) lived. Ibn Ṭāwūs discovered the book that stated that it was attributed to al-Ghaḍā'irī in mid-seventh century; until then no one had heard of the name of the book nor was there any information about it or *ijāzah* (permission to transmit) it. He then included the entire book in his work.⁶⁶⁴ Ibn Ṭāwūs himself did not establish the

⁶⁶⁴ Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī'a Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, n.d., 10:88.

authenticity of the book and did not express his opinion about it. Then his two prominent students, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī and Ibn Dāwūd, accepted the book as the work of al-Ghaḍā’irī and both referenced it in their works.⁶⁶⁵

In the light of this evidence, Ṭahrānī then reaches the conclusion that the book could not be the work of al-Ghaḍā’irī because had he been the author of the book, sources earlier than Ibn Ṭāwūs would have mentioned it. Especially, the fact that al-Ghaḍā’irī’s student al-Najāshī did not mention this book but mentioned al-Ghaḍā’irī’s two other books further strengthens this theory. Ṭahrānī is convinced that the book is not the work of al-Ghaḍā’irī but is forgery. He then speculates that the book must have been produced as a result of sectarian motivations as it is apparent that the author of the book had the intention of defaming prominent Shī’ite narrators and hence discredit Shī’ite traditions.

Although there is not a compelling evidence to reach a concrete conclusion on the issue, the arguments of the two prominent scholars are plausible enough to assume that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād may not be an extremist. Therefore, we may be able to argue that he lacked the motivation to forge the tradition. Considering the proximity between Kūfa and Baghdad it should not have been difficult for al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās to travel to Kūfa (before he moved to Qum) and receive the tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād. Sources do not mention a date of death for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād so we cannot be certain if al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād lived in the same period but we might try to get an approximate date in which ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād might have lived.

Al-Najāshī states that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb,⁶⁶⁶ who died in year 262/875, reported the tradition from Ibn Ḥammād. Therefore, we may assume that

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 10:88–89.

he was older than b. al-Khaṭṭāb and very likely to die before Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb. Our best guess might be that he died anytime within the second quarter of the third century. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād allegedly received the tradition from al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī or al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Farrāzī, who was a Kūfī scholar and died in year 180. This makes it possible that al-Ḥasan b. al-‘Abbās received the tradition from Ibn Ḥammād. Therefore, there is no gap in the transmission line until it reaches al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr who seems to be the common link for these variants. Shī‘ite sources remain neutral about him, yet Sunnī sources consider him *matrūk* (*ḥadīth* scholars agree on his unreliability) and a great liar.⁶⁶⁷ Since the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis is not concerned with the grading of the transmitters, we can disregard these allegations about him.

As for the second version in this group, ‘Abdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī (d. 490/1097) apparently received the tradition from Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī who was from Baghdad and recorded it in his book entitled *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*.⁶⁶⁸ Al-Najāshī gives Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī’s name as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad abū ‘Abdallāh al-Āmulī al-Ṭabarī, and considers him very weak. Al-Najāshī notes that he had two books, entitled *al-Wuṣūl ilā Ma‘rifat al-Uṣūl* and *Kitāb al-Kashf*.⁶⁶⁹ In *Tārīkh Baghdād* he was mentioned by the name Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ghālīb b. Khālīd b. Mirdās abū ‘Abdallāh al-Zāhid al-Bahālī al-Baṣrī and was known as Ghulām Khalīl.⁶⁷⁰ He lived in Baghdad and again was considered a weak transmitter.⁶⁷¹ His date of death was given as 275.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁶ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 229.

⁶⁶⁷ Abū Aḥmad ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Adī al-Jarjānī, *Al-Kāmil fī Du‘afā’ al-Rijāl*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1985), 208.

⁶⁶⁸ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 549.

⁶⁶⁹ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 93.

⁶⁷⁰ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 245.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 6:246.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 6:247.

There is a huge time gap between al-Ḥaskānī (d. 490/1097) and Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī who died in 275/888. Therefore it is impossible for al-Ḥaskānī to have received the tradition from him personally. If he did not invent the tradition, there is only one possibility by which al-Ḥaskānī might have received the tradition from Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī; he copied the tradition from one of his books but did not mention the name of the book, instead mentioning Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī’s name. In addition to the two books mentioned by al-Najāshī, in *A ‘yān al-Shī‘ah* Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn mentions that he authored another book entitled *Faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn*.⁶⁷³ The last book is more likely to contain such a tradition since from the title it appears that it was dedicated to the virtues of ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib. However, to assume that al-Ḥaskānī copied the tradition from one of these books would perhaps be stretching the *isnād-cum-matn* method too much at this stage, and therefore it is better not to go further with this particular *isnād*. Consequently, the study of the first group of variants suggests that it is difficult to establish ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād as a partial common link for this group of variants. However, we can trace the Ibn al-Nadīm’s version to al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī who is the apparent common link for the variants.

At this point we can move on to the second group of variants. As we have mentioned above, there are three variants that merge at Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn; however, al-Khawārizmī’s variant was reported from Abū Nu‘aym’s and therefore we will treat it as a single variant.

3. Al-Khawārizmī’s version (Kha1):

Wa-anba’anī Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ḥasan bin Aḥmad hazā, akhbarānā al-Ḥasan bin Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād, akhbarānā Aḥmad bin ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāfīz, ḥaddathanā

⁶⁷³ Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn, *A ‘yān al-Shī‘ah*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Ta‘āraf, n.d.), 118–119.

Sa‘d bin Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī, ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān bin abī Shayba, ḥaddathanā Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin Maymūn ḥaddathanā al-Ḥakam bin Zuhayr ‘an al-Suddī ‘an ‘Abd Khayr ‘an ‘Alī alayhi al-salām, qāla:

Lammā qubiḍa Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-ālīhi aqsamtu – aw ḥalaftu- an lā ridā ‘ī raddā ‘an ṣahrī hatta ajma‘a mā bayna al-lawḥayn, fama waḍa‘tu raddā ‘ī ‘an ṣahrī ḥattā jami‘tu al-Qur‘ān.^{674 675}

4. Abū Nu‘aym’s version (Nu1):

Ḥaddathanā Sa‘d bin Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī, thanā [ḥaddathanā] Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān bin abī Shayba, thanā Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin Maymūn thanā al-Ḥakam bin Zuhayr ‘an al-Suddī ‘an ‘Abd Khayr ‘an ‘Alī, qāla:

Lammā qubiḍa Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam aqsamtu –aw ḥalaftu- an lā aḍa‘a rida‘ī ‘an ṣahrī ḥattā ajma‘a mā bayna al-lawḥayn. Famā waḍa‘tu rida‘ī ‘an ṣahrī ḥattā jama‘tu al-Qur‘ān.^{676 677}

5. Al-Ḥaskānī’s version (Ḥ2):

⁶⁷⁴ Al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Khawārizmī, *Al-Manāqib*, 2nd ed. (Qum, Iran: Muassayī al-Nashr-i al-Islāmī, 1990), 94.

⁶⁷⁵ Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad informed me, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād informed us, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, Sa‘d b. Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī transmitted to us, Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. abī Shayba transmitted to us, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn transmitted to us, al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr from al-Saddī transmitted to us from al-Suddī from ‘Abd Khayr from ‘Alī, peace be upon him, he said:

When the Prophet, peace be upon him and his family, died I swore that I would not take my robe off my back until I collect what is between the covers (*lawḥāyn*). Hence, I did not take off my robe until I had collected the Qur‘ān.’

⁶⁷⁶ Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā’*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut-Lebanon: Jamī‘ al-Ḥuqūq Maḥfūẓah, 1988), 67.

⁶⁷⁷ We have been told by Sa‘d bin Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī, he was told by Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. abī Shayba he was told by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn he was told by al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr from al-Suddī from ‘Abd Khayr from ‘Alī, he said:

When the Prophet peace be upon him died I swore that I would not take my robe off my back until I collect what is between the covers (*lawḥāyn*). Hence, I did not take off my robe until I collected the Qur‘ān.

Qurī'a 'alā al-Ḥākim ibn abī 'Abdallāh sana 'ārba'a mi'a wa anā
uṣghī [ḥaddathanā] Muḥammad bin Ya'qūb al-Ma'qilī qāla: Ḥaddathanā
Muḥammad bin Maṣṣūr al-Kūfī qāla: [ḥaddathanā] Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad
bin Maymūn [an] al-Ḥakam bin Zuhayr 'an al-Suddī 'an 'Abd Khayr 'an
Yamān qāla:
Lammā qubīḍa al-Nabī aqṣama 'Alī –aw ḥalafa– an lā yaḍa'a ridā' ahu 'alā
zahrihi ḥattā yajma'a al-Qur'ān.^{678 679}

The longest *isnād* for this version was mentioned in the work of *Hanafī* scholar Al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Khawārizmī's (d. 568/1172) work entitled *al-Manāqib*. The work was solely dedicated to the virtues of 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib and consists of various traditions regarding his merits. He apparently received the tradition from Abū al-'Alā' al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (488/1095-569/1173). Muntajab al-Dīn Ibn Bābūya gives his full name as Abū al-'Alā' al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār al-Hamadānī, including his nickname Ṣadr al-Ḥuffāz (the head of memorisers). He considers him to be a very learned scholar in the field of *ḥadīth* and method of recitation of the Qur'ān (*al-qirā'at*). He was a Shī'ite scholar, (*min aṣḥābinā*)^{680 681} a contemporary of al-Khawārizmī, and lived in Baghdād. He was a very prominent figure and there is no issue with al-Khawārizmī receiving the tradition from al-Hamadānī. Further, Ibn Shahrāshūb states that this tradition was available in the book of al-'Aṭṭār al-Hamadānī; hence it is probable that al-Khawārizmī copied the tradition from al-Hamadānī's book.

⁶⁷⁸ 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā'id al-Tafḍīl fī al-Āyāt al-Nāzilāh fī Ahl al-Bayt*, 27.

⁶⁷⁹ In year 400 it has been read by al-Ḥākim Abī 'Abdallāh and I listened: Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Ma'qilī said Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Kūfī said Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn said from al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr from al-Suddī from 'Abd Khayr:

When the Prophet was taken (died) 'Alī took an oath that he would not put his cloak on his back until he collects the Qur'ān.

⁶⁸⁰ Muntajab al-Dīn Ibn Bābūyah, *Fihrist* (Qum: Mahr, 1987), 59.

⁶⁸¹ See also Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Āmilī al-Mashgharī. *Amal al-Āmil fī 'Ulamā' Jabal 'Āmil*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Najaf: Maktabatu al-Andalus, No date. 62.

The next person in the *sanad* is Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, whose full name is Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī (336/947-430/1038). Abū Nu‘aym, who was a famous Shafī‘ī *ḥadīth* transmitter, was born in Iṣfahān during the Buwayhīd era and widely travelled throughout the Muslim lands. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā’*, which is attributed to him, is thought to be the one of the most important works for the development of early Ṣūfism. The work consists of ten volumes and around 650 biographies of prominent Ṣūfis who lived in the first three centuries.⁶⁸² As we have access to the book and can locate the tradition there is no doubt about the reliability of the *sanad* up to this point. Abū Nu‘aym apparently received the tradition from the Sunnī scholar Sa‘d b. Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī who died in 365/976⁶⁸³ probably in Baghdad. He was graded as *thiqa*. Since Abū Nu‘aym was alive during this time we can assume that he received the tradition from al-Ṣayrafī.

The next person in the *sanad* is Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. abī Shayba (210/825-297/909). According to *Tārīkh Baghdād*,⁶⁸⁴ al-Ṣayrafī reported traditions from Ibn abī Shayba. He was a renowned Sunnī *ḥadīth* transmitter and spent some time in Kūfa but then immigrated to Baghdad. *Tārīkh Baghdād* mentions conflicting reports regarding his personality; some reports consider him a very reliable person who was *thiqa*. There is also information that he wrote a book entitled *Musnad*.⁶⁸⁵

Tārīkh Baghdād mentions that according to a report narrated from Abū Nu‘aym ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ‘Adī when he resided in Baghdad in 271, Ibn abī Shayba was residing in Kūfa, and two years after that, in 273, Ibn abī Shayba moved to Baghdad. The same report also states that a squabble took place between Ibn abī

⁶⁸² Norman Calder, Jawid Mojadedi, and Andrew Rippin, eds., *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature* (London: Routledge, 2003), 237.

⁶⁸³ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 10 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 186.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 69.

Shayba and Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sulaymān Muṭayyan al-Ḥaḍramī, which resulted in accusations and a reputation tarnishing campaign against each other.⁶⁸⁶ It is difficult to know whether it was as a result of this incident that scholars who supported Muṭayyan al-Ḥaḍramī began to disseminate accusations against Ibn abī Shayba, or if it was the result of genuine events. Al-Khaṭīb included accounts of serious allegations against Ibn abī Shayba. These alleged that he was a ‘great liar’ who stole fellow scholars’ books and *aḥādīth* and fabricated traditions.⁶⁸⁷

However, the allegations that he was a liar and *ḥadīth* forger were reported by only Abū al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘īd, whose full name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Uqdah al-Kūfī (d. 332/943). According to Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī he was a Zaydī Shī‘ite who apparently was *thiqa*. Nevertheless, there is not much information about him in the *ḥadīth* or *rijāl* works.⁶⁸⁸ As we have stated above, the *isnād-cum-matn* does not rely on the grading of transmitter by Muslim *rijāl* works; nevertheless the event of labelling of Ibn abī Shayba is a striking example of why these grading may not reflect the real merit of a prolific *ḥadīth* transmitter from the Muslim point of view.

In this case it took only one person, Abū al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘īd, to ruin the reputation of Ibn abī Shayba and label him a great liar and *ḥadīth* forger without providing any evidence to substantiate the allegations. No one may know what Abū al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘īd’s motivation was, but one can speculate that he was motivated by the quarrel that took place between Ibn abī Shayba and Muṭayyan al-Ḥaḍramī. Abū al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘īd could have taken the side of Muṭayyan al-Ḥaḍramī for some reason and disseminated reports against Ibn abī Shayba.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 4:70.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 4:73–74.

⁶⁸⁸ Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il wa-Mustanbaṭ al-Masā’il*, vol. 3 (Qum: Muassasa Āl al-Bayt, 1987), 267.

At any rate, as far as the *isnād-cum-matn* method is concerned there is no reason for us to suspect that al-Ṣayrafī could have received the tradition from Ibn abī Shayba. Ibn abī Shayba apparently received the tradition from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn. Classical *rijāl* works did not mention him directly so the only information comes from al-Khūʿī, who gives his name as Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Kūfī and states that he was a disciple of Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.⁶⁸⁹ From this statement we may conclude that he was a Shīʿite. Since we do not have his date of death we can only assume that he was active during the Imāmat of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who reportedly became the sixth Imām in year 114 and was assassinated in year 148. It is possible that he might have died a bit later than Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, perhaps in the third quarter of the second century, which physically enables him to have transmitted the tradition to Ibn abī Shayba.

Ibn Maymūn allegedly received the tradition from al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī who died in year 180. The scholars were contemporaries and lived in Kūfa so it is possible that Ibn Maymūn received the tradition from al-Sadūsī. We now have Ibn al-Nadīm's and Abū Nuʿaym's *asānīd* variants, which both reach al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr. Before examining the last version in this group we can accept that al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr is the common link for this groups of variants. Al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr died in year 180; hence at this point we can conclude that this group of traditions was disseminated in the last quarter of the second century in Kūfa.

The variants in the second group were reported again by al-Ḥaskānī. He heard it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Bayyī, known as al-Nīsābūrī (321/933-405/1014), the great scholar of *ḥadīth*. The word *qaraʿa* in the *isnād* suggests that al-Nīsābūrī read the tradition from one of his works during his

⁶⁸⁹ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūʿī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, vol. 1 (No place: Muassasa al-Khūʿī al-Islāmī, No date), 284.

lecture wherein al-Ḥaskānī was present. In addition the *sanad* gives the exact date, year 400 in which al-Ḥaskānī heard the tradition from al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī. Al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī allegedly received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Ma‘qilī who is Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf b. Ma‘qilī b. Sinān. His *kunya* was Abū al-‘Abbās and he was a client of Banū Umayya. He was born in year 247 and died in year 346,⁶⁹⁰ and was active in Damascus, Beirut and Iraq. He was a prolific *ḥadīth* reporter and a very prominent *ḥadīth* scholar of his time and was a contemporary of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī; thus we can postulate that al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī received the tradition from him. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Ma‘qilī allegedly received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Kūfī (d. 290/903). He was a well-known *ḥadīth* transmitter and his name appears in most of the major Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* collections. His origins might have been from the city of Zarj, Iran. His father was a companion of the sixth and the seventh Imāms.⁶⁹¹

Kashshī, in his *Rijāl*, upon examining two traditions which include Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Kūfī in their chains of transmission, alleges that all the transmitters in the chains of narration are accused of being extremist.⁶⁹² However, this view was challenged by Khū‘ī since he did not produce any evidence for this allegation. Conversely Khū‘ī considers him to be *thiqa*.⁶⁹³ Since Kashshī’s allegation against him was not substantiated, we can conclude that he did not have a motivation to fabricate the tradition himself and thus transmitted it from Muḥammad b. Maymūn. As we have stated above, similar to Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Kūfī’s father Muḥammad b. Maymūn was a companion of Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq; hence they lived during the same period and likely had a connection. Therefore, there is no reason to

⁶⁹⁰ Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīna Dimashq*, ed. ‘Alī Shīrī, vol. 56 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1990), 287.

⁶⁹¹ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū‘ī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 5th ed., vol. 18 (Tehran: Markaz Nashr al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmī, 1992), 293.

⁶⁹² Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Kashī, *Rijāl Kashī*, First, vol. 2 (Mashad: Mashad University, 1988), 197.

⁶⁹³ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū‘ī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 1992, 18:293.

prevent us from reaching the conclusion that Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Kūfī received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Maymūn, who seems to be a partial common link.

We had already established the connection between al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr and Ibn Maymūn above, and therefore we now can postulate that al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr is the common link for the three *asānīd* variants, namely Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Khawārizmī and the second version of al-Ḥaskānī that has been reported from ‘Alī. As we have noted, these *asānīd* involve a mix of Sunnī and Shī’ite transmitters. There is a possibility that al-Ḥaskānī’s first version could also be traced to al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr, yet we opted to not investigate such a possibility. Based on these findings we can now assert that the variants can be traced back to al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī’s date of death 180, at the latest. There is no apparent reason for us to suspect that al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr fabricated the tradition. Since we established him as the common link for these variants, as we have done before we can also go one step further to try to date the version to his source, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī.

He was based in Kūfa⁶⁹⁴ and was known as al-Suddī al-Kabīr (the senior). Al-Suddī was a companion of the fourth and the fifth Imāms. He was a renowned Shī’ite exegete of his time and authored a book called *Tafsīr al-Suddī*. He died in year 127.⁶⁹⁵ Considering ages and locations of both people it is possible that al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr received the tradition from al-Suddī; therefore, we may be able to trace the variants to a common source, al-Suddī, and date the traditions to al-Suddī’s date of death, 127.

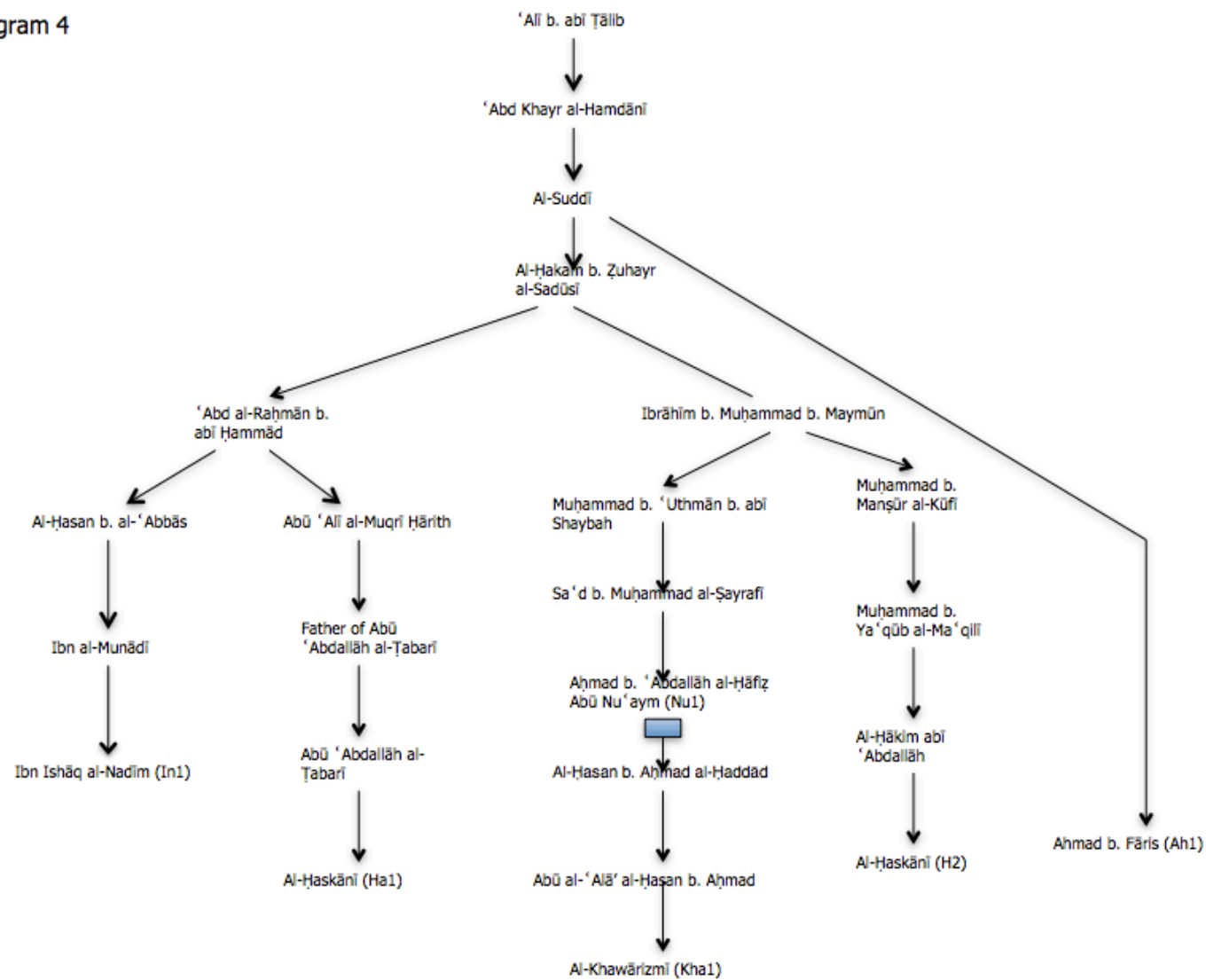
Having said this argument alone is perhaps not sufficient to get beyond the common link al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr. An additional argument we may produce is that traditions about collections of the Qur’ān by Abū Bakr and ‘Uthmān could be dated back to

⁶⁹⁴ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 124.

⁶⁹⁵ Āghā Buzurg Ṭahrānī, *Al-Dharī‘a Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, n.d., 4:276.

the first quarter of the second century H., for instance as Motzki has demonstrated in the traditions of the common link al-Zuhrī (d. 124), and, as we have shown for the collection of ‘Alī to Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who also died within the first two decades of the second century. Al-Suddī fits into this timeframe. This means that it is possible that in this period several traditions about the collection of the Qur’ān have been spread, among them also the traditions about a collection made by ‘Alī. But it is not sure that the tradition really goes back to al-Suddī. There is no proof for it, and the fact that Zuhayr has received such a negative judgement by the *ḥadīth* critics (at least the Sunnī ones) could also be an indication that he may have created the tradition himself. Therefore, we can stop *isnād* analysis here and move on to the *matn* analysis to verify if we can get a similar result from the *matn* analysis.

Diagram 4



Matn analysis:

We have six variants to study in *matn* analysis. They all give an account of the event that has been attributed to ‘Alī: upon the demise of the Prophet ‘Alī took a pledge that he would not come out of his house, except to fulfil his religious obligations, until he had collected the Qur’ān, and this collection was the first collection of the Qur’ān. The variants at hand suggest that he did remain in his house for a significant period and had completed the task of compiling the Qur’ān in a unified form.

However, it should be noted that, excluding Kha1 and Nu1 the variants are not first person accounts but third person accounts that are claimed to be based on ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s testimony.

One of the main characteristics of the *isnād-cum-matn* method - and also an area of criticism against it - is that it excludes the historical context from the study of the traditions. In any historical study, the context potentially provides valuable information that allows the reader to make sense of the research. However, the *isnād-cum-matn* method has a valid reason for not dealing with the context: the context is based on ‘historical data’ and as we have seen in Chapter One, ‘historical data’ related to the early period of Islamic history are highly disputed.

In this regard, Jafri states that the main problem in understanding the events that took place right after the demise of the Prophet, which came to be known as the succession crisis, is the gap between the period in which the events took place and the period when they were recorded systematically. The historical sources that mention the events were written in the first half of the second century. At the time the sectarian division between Shī’ites and Sunnīs had already crystallised and it is very likely that the authors who recorded the events filtered the accounts through their inclinations to the respective camps. Those who report the events, such as Ibn

Ishāq, Ya‘qūbī and Mas‘ūdī, were believed to have Shī‘ite sympathy and Ibn Sa‘d, Balādhurī and Ṭabarī were thought to be in the Sunnī camp.⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ As a result, in order to provide a context, the method first needs to establish the historicity of the data that the context is based on.⁶⁹⁸ Such an undertaking is well beyond the scope of a PhD thesis as it will require analysis of hundreds of traditions. Nevertheless, exclusion of the context from the study would limit the accessibility of the present research only to specialists who are well versed in the subject matter of the study. For this reason I provide a brief overview of the ‘historical context’ with the provision that the reliability of the data which the ‘historical context’ is based on is not established. My focus will be the short period that starts with the Prophet’s demise until the time that ‘Alī pledged allegiance to the first Muslim Caliph Abū Bakr. This is roughly a six-month period, during which due to political tension between the first Caliph Abū Bakr and his main rival ‘Alī, it is believed that a succession crisis took place within the Muslim community. The reason for focusing on this short period is that the alleged event of ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān also took place during this period and it played an important role in the tension between the two camps. I will discuss the role of ‘Alī’s codex in due course.

Modern historians have paid relatively little attention to the succession crises that followed the demise of the Prophet.⁶⁹⁹ According to Madelung this attitude was a result of the perception that ‘Alī’s Shī‘ite supporters artificially constructed the conflict between the Sunnī and Shi‘ite sects to legitimise the Prophet’s descendants’

⁶⁹⁶ S. Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi’a Islam*, Second (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1989), 28.

⁶⁹⁷ For a detailed analysis of these scholars’ treatment of the event of *Saqīfāt* Banū Sā‘ida see Jafri, S. Husain M. *Origins and Early Development of Shi’a Islam*. Second. Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1989, pp.27-57.

⁶⁹⁸ For an overview of the reliability of the traditions on the issue see Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

⁶⁹⁹ For a brief overview see Kohlberg, Etan. “Western Studies of Shi’a Islam.” In *Shi’ism, Resistance, and Reform*, 31–44. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987.

hereditary rights to the caliphate. Further, during the later Umayyad period Abbasids adopted this idea in order to strengthen their anti-Umayyad campaign. The main argument that has been used to support the artificial construction of the succession crisis is that right after the demise of the Prophet ‘Alī pledged allegiance to succeeding Caliphs without any objections.⁷⁰⁰

In addition, supporting arguments include that there is no mention of a successor of the Prophet in the Qur’ān and according to many Muslims Muḥammad himself did not express the existence of any successors during his lifetime. Therefore, the majority of Muslims argued that choosing a suitable successor was left to the consensus of Muslims and consequently they supported first Abū Bakr and then ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and finally ‘Alī. Shī’ites however, who constituted a small minority of Muslims, categorically denied these arguments and maintained that ‘Alī was the Prophet’s divinely appointed successor.

At this point it would be pertinent to discuss the gathering wherein Muslims nominated Abū Bakr as caliph. According to Madelung the main account of the gathering at *Saqifāt* (Portico) Banū Sā‘ida that catapulted Abū Bakr to the office of the Caliphate was narrated by ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās. All the other relevant reports are based on this master tradition in the form of either paraphrasing or elaboration.⁷⁰¹ The tradition states that on the night that the Prophet died, a group of Anṣār from the Khazraj tribe gathered at *Saqifāt* Banū Sā‘ida. Some Muhājirūn accompanied Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and when the news of the gathering reached them, ‘Umar suggested that they should go to *Saqifāt* Banū Sā‘ida. Meanwhile ‘Alī and some of his followers were at Fāṭima’s house, busy with the Prophet’s funeral. When Abū Bakr and ‘Umar reached *Saqifāt* Banū Sā‘ida, they engaged in a debate

⁷⁰⁰ Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1-2.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 28.

with Anṣār over who should succeed the Prophet. Finally, Abū Bakr's argument that Arabs would only follow someone who is from Quraysh prevailed when 'Umar pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr. First the Muhājirūn and then the Anṣār pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr and the first Caliph was inaugurated to the office of Caliphate.⁷⁰²

Despite the initial perception that the first Caliph's nomination process took place in a straightforward manner and upon a brief discussion Muslims unanimously accepted Abū Bakr as their Caliph, a little scrutiny of the event reveals that there are certain issues to be considered. The main problem with Abū Bakr's nomination is that based on the account of 'Umar, none of the high and middle ranking Muhājirūn was present at *Saḡifāt* Banū Sā'ida, apart from Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda,. In addition, the members of the Prophet's 'Household' and tribe Banū Hāshim were not represented in the gathering, which casts doubt on the legitimacy of Abū Bakr's 'nomination'.⁷⁰³ This argument is strengthened by the assertion that at the same time 'Alī, the main contender of the succession bid, along with some associates (such as 'Abbās, Zubayr, Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād and 'Ammār) were busy with the Prophet's burial and funeral service. According to Shī'ites, once the Prophet was buried they protested against what they perceived as an unfair nomination of the Caliph and urged Muslims to reconsider their decision. But they did not press further with their claims due to their consideration of the unity and welfare of the Muslims.⁷⁰⁴ Shī'ites believe that this period of initial protest against Abū Bakr's nomination led to the emergence of group known as Shī'ite (partisan).⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰² Ibid.,10; Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 18.

⁷⁰³ Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, 32.

⁷⁰⁴ 'Allāma Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Shilamah Sayy*, trans. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: State University of New York, 1975), 41.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., 41

The Shī'ite account of the event may be difficult to prove but it is clear from the sources that the nomination of the Caliph cannot be described as a smooth transition. In this regard, it is widely reported in Muslim sources that during a Friday sermon 'Umar called the entire event *falta* (spontaneous), yet he justified it by stating that if they had not taken the initiative Anṣār would have chosen someone whom the Muhājirūn would have not liked.

Nevertheless, according to the accounts of both Shī'ite and Sunnī sources, not all Muhājirūn were satisfied with the outcome of the 'spontaneous' nomination of Abū Bakr and 'Alī was the foremost of those who disagreed with it. This is evident from the fact that 'Alī and Banū Hāshim delayed paying their allegiance to Abū Bakr by around six months. Further, some Shī'ite sources went so far as to claim that 'Alī seriously considered asserting his 'right' by force but decided against it.⁷⁰⁶ The situation was so tense between the two camps that it is reported in some Shī'ite and Sunnī sources that soon after Abū Bakr accepted the allegiance of the people, 'Umar went to 'Alī's house with a group of armed men to demand he pledge allegiance. The traditions also indicate that 'Umar threatened to burn down 'Alī's house if he refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr. But 'Alī at this point did not succumb to the threats and the confrontation dissipated.⁷⁰⁷

In terms of the root cause of the early political tension, Madelung, based on his interpretations of Muslim reports, suggests that tribal alliances and rivalries played a significant role.⁷⁰⁸ Khazraj, one of the most powerful Madina tribes, had held the gathering at *Saqifāt* Banū Sā'ida and their rival tribe Aws perceived it as a threat to their existence; if Khazraj took power then they would have wanted to crack down on their enemies from the pre-Islamic period. Therefore, in order to pre-empt

⁷⁰⁶ Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak*, 12

⁷⁰⁷ Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism*, 19.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

Khazraj's 'plot' to seize power, they had extended their support to Abū Bakr and this support of the Aws tribe was crucial to strengthen the position of Abū Bakr as initially he did not have the support of the prominent Companions of the Prophet.⁷⁰⁹

Further, the Muhājirūn were reluctant to pay homage to 'Alī as they were influenced by strong tribal rivalries. It would have been difficult for the members of Quraysh to concede to another member of Banū Hāshim assuming power after the Prophet for this would have paved the way the hereditary rule of the Banū Hāshim. Such a possibility would uplift Banū Hāshim's status significantly and was thus unacceptable to some members of Quraysh. The idea of distribution of power among the Quraysh by supporting Abū Bakr's caliphate, who was from another tribe, was appealing to the Quraysh and this very idea secured the Muhājirūn's support of Abū Bakr's caliphate.⁷¹⁰

The political tension continued after the majority of Muslims pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr. Upon strengthening his position as the successor of the Prophet, Abū Bakr appeared to embark upon an isolation policy against his main rival, 'Alī. He first stopped paying the Prophet's share of war booty to the family of the Prophet. Abū Bakr then denied their inheritance rights by taking Fadak and Khaybar away from them, arguing that Prophets cannot have heirs.⁷¹¹ This move was crucial in curbing the political power of the family of the Prophet, since the land generated a significant amount of income which financed military campaigns during the lifetime of the Prophet. As a result, six months after becoming Caliph, Abū Bakr completely isolated the Family of the Prophet. After this period, which also saw Fāṭima's death, 'Alī realised that he had no option but to succumb to the pressure and to pledge

⁷⁰⁹ Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, 33.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., 40; Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*, 13.

⁷¹¹ Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak*, 16.

allegiance to Abū Bakr.⁷¹² ‘Alī then invited Abū Bakr to his house where he had gathered the Banū Hāshim. Despite ‘Umar’s warning, Abū Bakr went to the house and received the allegiance of ‘Alī and the Banū Hāshim.⁷¹³ After that, ‘Alī appeared as an advisor to Abū Bakr and succeeding caliphs and did not engage in a political campaign to assert his ‘right’ to the caliphate.⁷¹⁴

Sunnī schools of thought, aside from emphasising the merits of Abū Bakr (and then ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān) in the eyes of the Prophet and Muslims, used ‘Alī’s acceptance of the situation and advisory role in the Muslim state as the main evidence for their justification for the actions of the early Muslims. Shī’ites on the other hand, tried to respond to these arguments by pointing out ‘Alī’s merits. They maintain that there were a group of Companions who, based on the Prophet’s statements and the merits of ‘Alī in the eyes of Muslims, considered ‘Alī the rightful successor of the Prophet.⁷¹⁵ Shī’ites believe that the Prophet chose ‘Alī as his successor when ‘Alī was only 13 years old. In a tradition reported in Ṭabarī, when the Prophet was still in Mecca he arranged a gathering in his house for the members of his clan. In this gathering the Prophet declared ‘Alī as his ‘brother’, ‘trustee’ and ‘successor’.⁷¹⁶ According to Shī’ites there are many other traditions from the Prophet that point out ‘Alī’s position as his successor.⁷¹⁷ There is no need to go over them but one event stands out as the most important evidence for ‘Alī’s succession.

⁷¹² Momen, *An Introduction to Shi’i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi’ism*, 20.

⁷¹³ Ibid., 50–53.

⁷¹⁴ Donaldson, *The Shi’ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Iraq*, 16.

⁷¹⁵ Momen, *An Introduction to Shi’i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi’ism*, 17.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁷¹⁷ See Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi’i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi’ism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, pp.11-17.

The Shī'ites place a great emphasis on the tradition of Ghadīr Khum. According to traditions that are included in both Shī'ite and Sunnī sources⁷¹⁸ when Muḥammad was returning from his last pilgrimage to Mecca, he stopped at a place known as Ghadīr Khum and in a public announcement stated that 'Whoever recognises me as his *mawlā* (master), will know 'Alī as his master'⁷¹⁹ The authenticity of the tradition has been acknowledged by both Sunnī and Shī'ite scholars and it appears in important Sunnī works.⁷²⁰ Shī'ites firmly believe however, that the statement of the Prophet was a declaration of 'Alī's succession on the grounds that the word *mawlā* should be defined as 'leader, master and patron'. However, Sunnīs object to this by arguing that the word *mawlā* meant 'a friend, or the nearest kin and confidant'.⁷²¹

Both Shī'ite and Sunnī arguments regarding the meaning of the word make sense as it is almost impossible to weigh one meaning over another. In addition, both sides present the event in a context to assert their interpretation of the event. Shī'ites emphasised that it was the Prophet's last pilgrimage and he unprecedentedly gathered the Muslims in a place under the heat. On the other hand, Sunnīs laid emphasis on Muḥammad's wish to point out the esteemed status of his family and to suppress the discontent against 'Alī who had angered some when he distributed recent war spoils.⁷²² Therefore, this event itself is not sufficient to justify either side's claim.

The compilation of the Qur'ān in itself is a very significant event, but the variants suggest that the event took place amid continuing political tension between the

⁷¹⁸ See chapter one of Donaldson, Dwight M. *The Shī'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak*. London: Luzac, 1933 and Jafri, S. Husain M. *Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*. Second. Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1989, 17-19.

⁷¹⁹ Donaldson, *The Shī'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak*, 1; Hamid Dabashi, *Shi'ism* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 60.

⁷²⁰ Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi'atIslam*, 19-20.

⁷²¹ Ibid., 21.

⁷²² Ibid.

supporters of the first Caliph Abū Bakr and ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib. Considering ‘Alī’s position in the Muslim community and the expectation of some Muslims that he was the appointed heir of the Prophet, these traditions, aside from giving an account of the first collection of the Qur’ān, might also shed some light on the political dispute that engulfed the Muslim community right after the demise of the Prophet. In this regard it is crucial to bear in mind the political implications of the event. Nevertheless the purpose of this study is not to focus on the political events of the time. Our main focus will be ‘Alī’s compilation of the Qur’ān with occasional references to the political atmosphere of the time where it is pertinent to the study.

The similarities between Ibn al-Nadīm’s tradition (In1) and al-Ḥaskānī’s first version (Ḥa1) are noteworthy. It is unmistakable that the two variants are interdependent accounts of the same event. They both state that ‘Alī sensed what was coming upon the demise of the Prophet and took an oath to remain in his house and work on the compilation of the Qur’ān. He then collected the Qur’ān from his memory and it was the first collection of the Qur’ān. And the codex that ‘Alī put together is now with his descendants. What the tradition probably implies is that upon the demise of the Prophet, ‘Alī realised that he will not be accepted as the leader of the Muslims and decided to stay away from possible political turmoil by remaining in his house for a very rewarding purpose for which no one could blame him; the collection of the Qur’ān.

This way he could also register his peaceful disapproval (not dislike) of Abū Bakr’s appointment as the Caliph. By staying in his house for a significant period of time he postponed pledging alliance to Abū Bakr and hence made his point clear.⁷²³ Since he

⁷²³ For a study of political turmoil after the demise of the Prophet see Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. Cambridge; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

showed his political disapproval in a very prudent way; Abū Bakr and his supporters could not challenge him as he was undertaking the very important task of the collection of the Qurʾān. Also, he pacified the possible campaign of people who would want to take advantage of the political turmoil and incite animosity between the two camps. From this perspective, which is primarily held by Shīʿites, the accounts of the tradition make sense. Otherwise there is no explanation for why ʿAlī, whose prominence has not been disputed by either Shīʿites or Sunnīs, had to stay in his house while undertaking the task of compiling the Qurʾān.

If he did not show any disapproval of Abū Bakr's caliphate, why would he have stayed in his house right after the demise of the Prophet, which left the Muslim community in a short-lived turmoil and despair during this period? One would have expected him to take more responsibility and help the Caliph to overcome the difficulties during such a transition period. Instead he remained in his house and engaged in scholarly activities.

In terms of *matn* analysis, as we have noted, the texts of the two variants are almost identical as there are only a few minor differences between them: Version In1 refers to the Prophet as *al-Nabī* but Ḥa1 refers to him as *Rasūl Allāh*. In addition, In1 gives the period in which ʿAlī collected the Qurʾān in his house as three days, but this part is omitted in Ḥa1. These are the most notable differences between the two variants and there are only a few other minor spelling differences between them. This gives credence to the finding of the *isnād* analysis that both authors must have obtained the tradition from the same source, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād, and minor alteration took place when they or their informants paraphrased the tradition while recording the variants. Considering the structural similarities of the two versions, this becomes a very probable explanation.

As we have discussed earlier, the three-day period that was given by Ibn al- Nadīm is unrealistic and only mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's tradition while in the five other

versions this element is not found. This gives rise to the possibility that this part was the result of a mistake either on the side of Ibn al-Nadīm or the copiers as it is impossible for him or anyone else to carry out such a task in a very short period. Another possibility is that one of the transmitters of the narrative inserted this element because he ascribed superhuman abilities to ‘Alī. The fact that the period is not included in al-Ḥaskānī’s version reinforces this view.

So far, the *matn* analysis of the two variants affirms our assumption that we expressed in the *isnād* analysis that although al-Ḥaskānī did not have access to Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī personally, he must have copied the tradition from one of his books without mentioning the name of the book. This is the only possible explanation as the *mutūn* of the two variants strongly suggest interdependence; therefore they must be coming from a common source. And the only plausible explanation for that is the version Ah1 through Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī, his father and Abū ‘Alī al-Muqrī Ḥārith reaches ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād whom we had identified as a partial common link.

We may now look at the texts of the second group of variants to see if we can trace traditions to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn. If this is possible, then we can have reasonable confidence that he was the one who disseminated the second group of variants, which would confirm the findings of the *isnād* analysis. Al-Ḥaskānī’s version (Ḥa2) seems to be a shortened version of the first group of variants. It only mentions ‘Alī’s oath after the demise of the Prophet that he would not take off his cloak until he has collected the Qur’ān. There is not much to say about this variant since it is very short. The only comment we can make is that it uses the word *al-Nabī* instead of *Rasūl Allāh* when it refers to the Prophet.

However, in comparison to the texts of the other three traditions (Ib1, Ḥa1 and Ḥa2) Nu1 and Kha1 are different; although the theme of the narration is the same, there are differences in the expression of the event. The most important difference is that

it gives the account of the event in the first person; in other words ‘Alī himself narrates the event. However, in the other variants a third person, possibly al-Sadūsī, gives the account of the event. This might look like a discrepancy in the variants but there may be a plausible explanation for this apparent problem: When al-Sadūsī transmitted this tradition he did so on two or more occasions: on one he read it directly from his notes, which was represented by Abū Nu‘aym’s version, and on the other occasion(s) he transmitted it from his memory by paraphrasing it, or vice-versa. One may also argue that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn transmitted it in two variants. Otherwise, there seems to be no ground for thinking that this is an indication of forgery.

In addition, In1 and Ha1 state that ‘Alī compiled the Qur’ān from his heart or memory (*min qalbihi*); however, Kha1 he allegedly states ‘until I collect what is between the covers’ (*mā bayna al-lawḥayn*) hence referring to the collection of written material. One may again argue that this is a discrepancy among the variants but this would be a hasty conclusion since the text in Kha1 does use the expression *mā bayna al-lawḥayn* in the place of the Qur’ān, as there had not been a written Qur’ān at the time. These were possibly his notes about the Qur’ān that he had been writing down during the lifetime of the Prophet and when he wanted to collect them he had to rely on these notes. But this does not mean that he did not also rely on his memory as his notes were incomplete. One can imagine that he also needed to rely on his memory in order to arrange the order of the verses and chapters, especially when he was writing his commentary that was supposed to be included in the margin of the copy of the Qur’ān. Finally, Kha1 and Ḥa2 do not include the information that the descendants of ‘Alī preserved the codex. This means that the two traditions going back to the partial common link, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn, lack the last phrase of the version transmitted from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād. Ah1 also belongs textually also to the latter group.

The common features, such as the death of the Prophet, the oath to remain in the house, and the collection of the Qur'ān leave no doubt regarding the connection between the variants. Therefore we can confirm the findings of the *isnād* analysis that this tradition can be traced back to al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī and from him it can perhaps be dated back to al-Suddī's date of death, 127. However, as we have stated above, this might be problematic.

As for the two remaining variants, as the *isnād* of al-Khawārizmī's version (Kha2) indicates, they were copied from Abū Nu'aym's (Nu1) version. This can also be confirmed through a quick glance at the *mutūn* of the two variants; they are identical copies which reinforces that al-Khawārizmī quoted the tradition from Abū Nu'aym. Hence we will only examine Abū Nu'aym's *matn*. There are only a few differences between the two variants, and it is obvious that the two are interdependent.

Ahmad b. Fāris' (Ah1) version is almost identical to Ibn Nadīm's version (In1) and thus it is very probable that he just copied the tradition from his *al-Fihrist*. The only difference that may be noticed is the use of 'alā instead of 'an, but as most of the variants include 'an it may be asserted that use of 'alā is a transmission/transcription error, although 'alā seems to be more appropriate as regards the content.

Concluding comments

In the analysis of the traditions attributed to 'Alī, in order to avoid confusion I divided the traditions into two groups: Ibn al-Nadīm's and al-Ḥaskānī's first version (H1) reaches 'Abd Khayr through Zuhayr al-Sadūsī; this is the first group and Abū Nu'aym, al-Khawārizmī's and al-Ḥaskānī's second variants reach 'Abd Khayr through Ibn Maymūn; that is the second group. (I excluded Ahmad b. Fāris' tradition from the *isnād* analysis.) The analysis of the two groups resulted in identifying al-

Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī as the common link for the traditions and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn as the pcls. Upon establishing the identity of the common link, I then explored the possibility of tracing the tradition to al-Suddī who appeared to be the source of al-Sadūsī, and *isnād* analysis suggested it is potentially possible trace the variant to al-Suddī’s date of death, 127.

I further attempted to strengthen this argument by pointing out Motzki’s finding regarding the traditions about Abū Bakr and ‘Uthmān’s collections of the Qur’ān. In his study, Motzki dates the traditions to al-Zuhrī’s (d. 124) date of death. In addition, in Chapter Five, I traced the traditions attributed to Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir to Muḥammad al-Bāqir’s (d. 114) date of death and in Chapter Eight I again dated the traditions attributed to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn’s (d.110) date of death. I then argued that these findings suggest that around the first quarter of the second century several traditions were spread about the collection of the Qur’ān, among them also the traditions about a collection made by ‘Alī. However, I opted to be cautious in my conclusion as I noted that there is no substantial evidence that the tradition really goes back to al-Suddī. Conversely, I considered the negative judgement about al-Suddī in *rijāl works* as an indication that he may have forged the tradition himself.

In the *matn* analysis the common features of the variants, such as the death of the Prophet, ‘Alī’s oath to remain in the house, and the collection of the Qur’ān made it clear that the variants are connected to each other. As a result it confirmed the result of the *isnād* analysis that this tradition can be traced back to al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī’s date of death, 180. I could not find any evidence in the *matn* analysis to date the tradition back to al-Sadūsī’s source al-Suddī’s date of death, 127. Therefore, I concluded that the traditions that are attributed to ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib can be dated back to 180, at the latest.

Further, I have also noted that the traditions suggest that ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān took place right after the demise of the Prophet. There are many traditions that depict this period as a turbulent time in which the succession crisis took place and ‘Alī was one of the main contenders of the succession bid. Therefore, in order to make better sense of the traditions I decided to give a brief historical context. The study of historical context suggests that at the time there was indeed political tension between the first two Caliphs and ‘Alī which leads us to believe that ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān played some role in this tension, but I was unable to reach a final judgement on the issue.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TRADITIONS ATTRIBUTED TO JA‘FAR AL-ŞĀDIQ:

The variants that we have covered above come through a mixture of both Sunnī and Shī‘ite transmitters, and give the impression that they abruptly halt; they do not provide information about the reaction of the Muslim community to the codex of ‘Alī. Certainly, if a very prominent figure like ‘Alī remained in his house for a considerable period and collected the Qur’ān in a unified form for the first time, there must have been some reactions from other Muslims, unless he collected the Qur’ān for merely scholarly reasons and for his personal use and did not present it to anyone. Perhaps this was the understanding of the Sunnī scholars who assumed that if the traditions regarding ‘Alī’s collections were not fabricated, ‘Alī’s codex must have been merely a personal copy at best, thus excluding it from the official history of the Qur’ān.⁷²⁴

However, the traditions that we will examine in the following sections suggest otherwise. They seem to provide the rest of the story, which involved tension between Abū Bakr and ‘Alī due to Alī’s delay in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr. Also, ‘Alī did present his copy of the Qur’ān to the people including the Caliph Abū Bakr but they refused his work; in return he walked away with another oath that they will never see his copy of the Qur’ān again. In addition, one version goes so far as to state that ‘Alī undertook the task with the order of the Prophet who before passing away handed over written material about the Qur’ān to ‘Alī and asked him to collate it.

⁷²⁴ See Shehzad Saleem. "Collection of the Qur’ān: A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī’s View." University of Wales Lampeter, 2010.

Isnād analysis:

We have four variants that were reported on the authority of the sixth Imām, Ja‘far al-Šādiq. They appear in *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, *Baṣā‘ir al-Darajāt*, *al-Kāfī* and *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*. The variant mentioned in Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* did not have a *sanad* so we assume the author copied the tradition from one of the other three books without mentioning the name. Therefore, we cannot include it in the *isnād* analysis.

1. Ibn Shahrāshūb’s version (Is1):

Wa-fī akhbār ahl al-Bayt ‘alayhim al-salām annahu ‘Alī lā yaḍa‘u ridā’ ahu
‘alā ‘ātiqihī illā li al-ṣalāt ḥattā yu’ allifu al-Qur’āna wa yajma’ahu fa-
inqaṭa‘a ‘anhum muddatan ilā an jama’ahu thumma kharaja ilayhim bihi
fī izār yaḥmiluhu wa hum mujtama‘ūn fī al-Masjid fa-ankarū maṣīrhu ba‘da
inqiṭā‘ ma‘a al-albatah⁷²⁵ fa-qālū: Al-amr mā jā’ a bihi abū al-Ḥasan.
Falammā tawassatahum waḍa‘a al-Kitāb baynahum thumma qāla: Inna
Rasūl Allāh qāla: Innī mukhālifun fīkum ma-in tamassaktum bihi lan taḍillū
Kitābi Allāh wa-‘itrati ahli baytī wa-hadhā al-Kitāb wa-anā al-‘itrah. Fa-
qāma ilayhi al-thāni fa-qāla lahu: In yakun ‘indaka Qur’ān fa-‘indanā
mithlahu fa-lā ḥājah lanā fīkumā. Fa-ḥamala ‘alayhi al-salām al-Kitāb wa-
‘āda ba‘da an alzamahum al-ḥujjah.^{726 727}

⁷²⁵ The editor of the book corrects this word to *al-labāt*.

⁷²⁶ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 1, 1956, 320.

⁷²⁷ In a tradition from the People of the Household, ‘Alī did not wear his cloak for anything else apart from prayer until he had written the Qur’ān and compiled it. So he isolated himself from the people for a while in order to compile it. He then took it to the people, carrying it in a garment, when they were gathered in the mosque. But they opposed him after he came out of isolation. They said, "Abū al-Ḥasan [‘Alī] has come for whatever reason." When he reached the middle, he put down the Book between them and said: The Messenger of God had said: Verily I am leaving amongst you that to which if you cling fast, you will never go astray – the Book of God and my kinfolk (‘*itratī*), the People of my Household. This is the Book and I am the kinsman (‘*itra*). A man [in the crowd] stood up and confronted him, "If you have a Qur’ān, we have one like it and we have need neither for you nor the book. He then picked up the Book and returned it [to his house], after enforcing the proof (*al-ḥujjah*) on them.

2. Al-Qummī's version (Q2):

Wa-‘anhu ‘an Aḥmad b. abī ‘Abdillāh ‘an ‘Alī b. al-Hakam ‘an Sayf b. ‘Umayrah ‘an Abī Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī ‘an Abī ‘Abdallāh (a) qāla: Inna Rasūl Allah (ṣ) qāla li ‘Alī: Yā ‘Alī al-Qur’ānu khalfa firāshī fī al-Ṣuḥufi wa al-ḥarīri wa al-qarāṭis fa khudhūhu wa-ajma ‘ūhu – wa-lā tuḍayyi ‘ūhu kamā ḍayya ‘t al-Yahūdū al-Tawrāt. Fa inṭalaqa ‘Alī (‘a) fajama ‘ahu fī thawbin aṣfara thumma khatama ‘alayhi fī baytihi wa-qāla: Lā artadī ḥattā ajma ‘ahu- fa-innahu kanā al-rajulu laya’tīhi fa-yakhruju ilayhi bighayri ridā’ in ḥattā jama ‘ahu. Qāla [‘Alī]: Wa-qāla Rasūl Allāh: Law anna al-nāsa qara’ū al-Qur’āna kamā anzala Allāhu mā ikhtalafa ithnān.^{728 729}

Unlike the previous traditions, in this particular tradition there seems to be no common link after the main reporter, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. The variants apparently come down through two strands directly from the sixth Imām. The strand that goes through Sālim b. abī Salama breaks up into two after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, thus making him a partial common link. On the other hand, the strand that goes through Abī Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī arrives at Ibrāhīm al-Qummī through a single strand.

Tafsīr al-Qummī mentions the name of the informant with a pronoun, therefore we do not know his name. However, in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Majlisī quotes the same tradition from al-Qummī. In his *sanad* he includes ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn in the place of the pronoun.⁷³⁰ Perhaps Majlisī realised that in *Tafsīr al-Qummī* there are several similar

⁷²⁸ ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, ed. Ṭayyib Mūsawī Jazāirī, vol. 2 (Qum: Dar al-Kitāb, 1983), 451.

⁷²⁹ From him from Ahmad b. Abī ‘Abdallāh from ‘Alī b. al-Hakem from Sayf b. ‘Umayrah from Abī Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī from Abī ‘Abdallāh (a): The Prophet said to Ali: "O ‘Alī! The Qur’ān is behind my bed on scrolls, silk and leaves. Take it and collate it but do not lose it! As the Jews lost the Torah." Hence ‘Alī took them and placed them in a yellow cloth. Then (when the Prophet died) he locked himself in his house and said: "I will not wear (my robe) until I collect (the Qur’ān)" (During this period) when people came to visit him he would receive them without his robe, until he collected the Qur’ān. And then he (‘Alī) said: if people read the Qur’ān as Allah revealed it there would not be a dispute between two people.

⁷³⁰ Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār*, 1982, 89:48.

asānīd in which ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn reports from Aḥmad b. abī ‘Abdallāh, so he must have guessed it was him. He is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī, one of Aḥmad b. abī ‘Abdallāh’s reporters. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, in his *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, states that his name comes from the mountains of the Caspian Sea (Ṭabaristān) from where he originated. He was a *shaykh* of al-Kulaynī.⁷³¹

‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn was a resident of Qum. *Rijāl* works do not provide a date of death for ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sa‘d Ābādī but since he was a *shaykh* of al-Kulaynī (250/864-329/941) he was active during at least the second half of the third century. Al-Qummī died in 329/919; thus there was no obstacle to him receiving the tradition from a fellow scholar of Qum. Al-Sa‘d Ābādī reportedly received the tradition from Ahmad b. Abī ‘Abdallāh who is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī Abū Ja‘far, the son of Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī and a disciple of the ninth and tenth Imāms. He was a very prominent Shī‘ite scholar of his time and authored a number of books, most importantly *al-Maḥāsīn*. He died in 274/888 or 280/894. According to al-Najāshī, his family originated from Kūfa but the family migrated to Qum after the failed rebellion of Zayd b. ‘Alī in 122/740. He was considered to be *thiqa* but was believed to be reporting traditions from weak transmitters and relying on *mursal* traditions.^{732 733} Al-Barqī himself was a *shaykh* of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī and al-Qummī reported traditions from al-Barqī in his *Tafsīr*, which indicates that these three scholars lived in close connection; thus again there was nothing preventing al-Sa‘d Ābādī receiving the tradition from al-Barqī.

⁷³¹ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1986), 85.

⁷³² Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 74.

⁷³³ For more information on al-Barqī see Andrew J. Newman. *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī‘ism*. Surrey: Curzon, 2000. and Roy Vilozny. “A Shī‘ī Life Cycle According to Al-Baqī’s Kitāb Al-Maḥāsīn.” *Arabica* 54, no. 3 (July 2007): 362–96.

The next person in the *sanad* is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam. There are two ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakams who might have reported the tradition: ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam al-Anbārī and ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. Zubayr.⁷³⁴ Nevertheless, according to al-Kashshī’s account ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam al-Anbārī is the more likely option. Al-Kashshī states that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam al-Anbārī was a nephew of Dāwūd b. al-Nu‘mān,⁷³⁵ who was a disciple of the sixth Imām.⁷³⁶ Kashshī states that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam was a student of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr and reported many traditions from the disciples of the sixth Imām such as Ibn Faḍḍāl and Ibn Bakīr.⁷³⁷

However, al-Khūfī opines that *rijāl* scholars like al-Najāshī⁷³⁸ and al-Ṭūsī⁷³⁹ tended to unite the two people and al-Kashshī was not an exception to this. When mentioning ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam al-Anbārī, the person he refers to in reality is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. Zubayr, who is also from al-Anbār, Iraq. His argument for this is that in al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī’s works, when the two people were unified the person in question was considered a disciple of the eighth Imām, ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, and the ninth Imām, Muḥammad al-Jawād. Al-Khūfī states that it is not possible for al-Barqī to report from someone who did not meet al-Jawād and lived before him.⁷⁴⁰ Based on this information, we can assume that the reporter is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. Zubayr. He was a contemporary of al-Barqī and reported numerous traditions in the major Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* works. We do not know the date of death of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. Zubayr but the information that he was a disciple of the eighth Imām and did not meet the ninth Imām suggests that he was active in the second half of the second century, and the first quarter of the third century hence making it possible for him to have

⁷³⁴ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 5th ed., vol. 12 (Tehran: Markaz Nashr al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmī, 1992), 425.

⁷³⁵ Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Kashī, *Rijāl al-Kashī*, First, vol. 2 (Mashad: Mashad University, 1988), 840.

⁷³⁶ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, vol. 9 (No place: Muassasah al-Khūfī al-Islāmī, No date), 135–136.

⁷³⁷ Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Kashī, *Rijāl al-Kashī*, 2:840.

⁷³⁸ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 262–263.

⁷³⁹ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 87.

⁷⁴⁰ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūfī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 1992, 12:426.

received and transmitted the traditions to al-Barqī. There does not seem to be any motivation for him to fabricate such a tradition so we can move on to the next person in the *sanad*.

‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam reports the tradition from Sayf b. ‘Umayra al-Nakha‘ī who was based in Kūfa. He was a well-known scholar of his time and authored a book.⁷⁴¹ According to al-Najāshī he reports traditions from the sixth and the seventh Imāms.⁷⁴² He usually reports from Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī and ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam reports traditions from him.⁷⁴³ Again we do not have a date of death for him but considering that he reported numerous traditions in the major Shī‘ite works from various people and various people reported traditions from him, we can deduce that they were all a generation of scholars whose life spans overlapped. Therefore, it is not unlikely that b. ‘Umayra received the tradition from Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī. In addition, he neither had an apparent motivation to fabricate the tradition, nor was located in a place where he could possibly receive the tradition.

Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī was a well-known reporter of traditions and reported extensively from the sixth Imām in the major Shī‘ite books. We again do not have a date of death but all the historical sources⁷⁴⁴ agree that he was a contemporary of the sixth Imām and therefore could have received the tradition from him. According to the traditional *sanad* grading method, this *sanad* has perhaps been the strongest *sanad* we have treated so far. Every transmitter in the chain is a well-known transmitter and most of them were *thiqa*. In terms of the *isnād-cum-matn* method it was not an issue to trace the *sanad* to the sixth Imām whose date of death is

⁷⁴¹ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 78.

⁷⁴² Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 186.

⁷⁴³ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū‘ī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 5th ed., vol. 9 (Tehran: Markaz Nashr al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmī, 1992), 382.

⁷⁴⁴ For a detailed analysis of Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī see Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū‘ī. *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*. Vol. 22. 24 vols. No place: Muassasa al-Khū‘ī al-Islāmī, No date, 73-75.

148/765. We could perhaps get a better result upon examining the other three variants, which were given in *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt* and *al-Kāfī*.

3. Al-Ṣaffār's version (S5):

Ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn 'an 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin abī Najrān 'an Hāshim 'an Sālim bin abī Samalah [Salama]⁷⁴⁵ qāla: Qara'a rajulun 'alā abī 'Abdallāh ('a) wa-anā asma'u ḥurūfan min al-Qur'ān laysa 'alā mā yaqra'uhā al-nāsu fa-qāla Abū 'Abdallāh ('a) mah mah! Kuffa 'an hādhihi al-qirā'ah iqra' kamā yaqra'u al-nās ḥattā yaqūma al-Qā'im fa-idhā qāma fa-qara'a Kitāb Allāh 'alā ḥaddihi wa-'akhraja al-Muṣḥāfa alladhī katabahu 'Alī ('a) wa-qāla 'akhrajahu 'Alī ('a) 'ilā al-nāsi ḥaythu faragha minhu wa-katabahu faqāla lahum hadhā Kitāb Allāh kamā anzala Allāh 'alā Muḥammadin wa qad jama'tuhu bayna al-lawhayni qālū huwa dhā 'indanā Muṣḥafun jāmi'un fihi al-Qur'ān lā ḥājata lanā fihi qāla amā wallāhi lā tarawnahu ba'da yawmikum hādihā abadan innamā kāna 'alayya an ukhbirakum bihi hīna jama'tuhu li taqra'ūhu.^{746 747}

4. Al-Kulaynī's version (K3):

Muḥammad bin Yaḥyā 'an Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn 'an 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin abī Najrān 'an Ibn abī Hāshim 'an Sālim ibn abī Salama he said: Qara'a rajulun 'alā abī 'Abdallāh 'alayhi al-salām wa-ana astami'u ḥurūfan min al-Qur'āni laysa 'alā mā yaqrauhā al-nās. Fa-qāla abū 'Abdallāh 'alayhi al-

⁷⁴⁵ The correction is from the editor of the book.

⁷⁴⁶ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍā'il Āl Muḥammad*, 193.

⁷⁴⁷ We have been told by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Najrān from Hāshim from Sālim b. Abi Samala [Salama] he said:

"A man was reading [the Qur'ān] in the presence of Abū 'Abdallāh (a) [Ja'far al-Ṣādiq] and I heard a word from the Qur'ān which was not part of the Qur'ān that people used to read. Abū 'Abdallāh (a) said mah mah! Stop it; do not utter this recitation and read it (the Qur'ān) as other people are reading it until the rise of Mahdī (Qāim). And when he rises he will recite the Book of Allah as it should be recited and will take out the *Muṣḥaf* which 'Alī (a) wrote. He (Abū 'Abdallāh) said 'Alī (a) presented it to people because he had finished and written it and he told them: "Here is the book of God as He revealed it to Muḥammad and I have collected it between the two covers". They said "we already possess the *Muṣḥaf* in which the Qur'ān is collected so we do not need it ['Alī's *Muṣḥaf*]'". He ['Alī] said: "Henceforth, by God! You will not see this after this day forever, I have discharged my duty by informing you about it [my *muṣḥaf*] when I collected it so that you recite it".

salām: mah! Kuffa ‘an hādhihi al-qirā’ah iqra’ kamā yaqrau al-nās ḥattā yaqūma al-Qāim ‘alayhi al-salām. Fa-idhā qāma al-Qāim ‘alayhi al-salām qara’a Kitāba Allāhi ‘alā hādhihi. Wa-‘akhraja al-Muṣḥafa alladhī katabahu ‘Alī ‘alayhi al-salāmu. Wa qāla: ‘Akhrajahu ‘Alī ‘alayhi al-salāmu ilā al-nāsi ḥīna faragha minhu wa-katabahu. Fa-qāla lahum: Hādihā Kitāb Allāhi kamā anzalahu Allāhu ‘alā Muḥammadin ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhī wa-‘ālihi. Wa-qad jama‘ tuhu bayna al-lawhatayn. Fa-qālū: Huwa dhā ‘indanā Muṣḥafun jāmi‘un fihī al-Qur’ānu, lā ḥājah lanā fihī. Fa-qāla: Amā wallāhi mā tarawnahu ba‘da yawmikum hādihā abadan. Innamā kāna ‘alayya an ukhbirakum ḥīna jama‘ tuhu litaqra’ūhu.^{748 749}

Both al-Ṣaffār and al-Kulaynī’s variants are similar to the variants we have covered in the previous sections. Al-Ṣaffār directly reports the tradition from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Kulaynī reports it through Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb, who we have established earlier was a *Kūfī* scholar, died in 262/875. He apparently reports the tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Najrān, who is ‘Amr b. Muslim al-Tamīmī, a client, based in Kūfa. His *kunya* is Abū Faḍl and he is thought to be reliable (*thiqa*).⁷⁵⁰ He authored numerous books in which he reported traditions from the eighth Imām and his father Abū Najrān reports from the sixth Imām. There is no date of death for Ibn abī Najrān but since he was a companion of the eighth Imām we can assume that he was active

⁷⁴⁸ Abu Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī ‘Ilm al-Dīn*, vol. 4 (Qum: Dār al-Hadīth, 2008), 671–672.

⁷⁴⁹ Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Najrān from Hāshim from Sālim b. Abī Samāla [Salama] he said:

‘A man was reading [the Qur’ān] in the presence of Abī ‘Abdallāh (a) [Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq] and I heard a word from the Qur’ān which was not part of the Qur’ān that had been read by people. Abū ‘Abdallāh (a) said mah! stop it; do not utter this recitation and read it (the Qur’ān) as other people read it until the rise of Mahdī (Qāim). And when he rises he will recite the Book of Allah as it should be recited and will take out the *Muṣḥaf* which ‘Alī (a) wrote. He (Abū ‘Abdallāh) said “‘Alī (a) presented it to people. And he told them here is the book of God as Allāh revealed it to Muḥammad and I have collected it between the two covers”. They said “we already possess the *Muṣḥaf* in which the Qur’ān is collected so we do not need it [‘Alī’s *Muṣḥaf*]”. He ‘Alī said: “Henceforth, by God! You will not see this after this day forever, I have discharged my duty by informing you about it [my *muṣḥaf*] when I collected it so that you recite it.”

⁷⁵⁰ Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥusayn Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-Rijāl*, vol. 3 (Qum: Muassasa Āl al-Bayt, No date), 41.

during the last quarter of the second century and the first quarter of the third century. Hence, it is possible for him to have met Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb and transmitted the tradition to him.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Najrān apparently received the tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Hāshim al-Bazzāz. According to al-Ṭūsī, he authored a book and reported traditions from al-Qāsim al-Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī and Ibn abī Ḥamza reported from him.⁷⁵¹ There is not much information about him in the *rijāl* works, so we cannot estimate his date of death. Nevertheless, we can try to find out if it is possible for him to have received the tradition from Sālim b. abī Salama and transmitted it to Ibn abī Najrān.

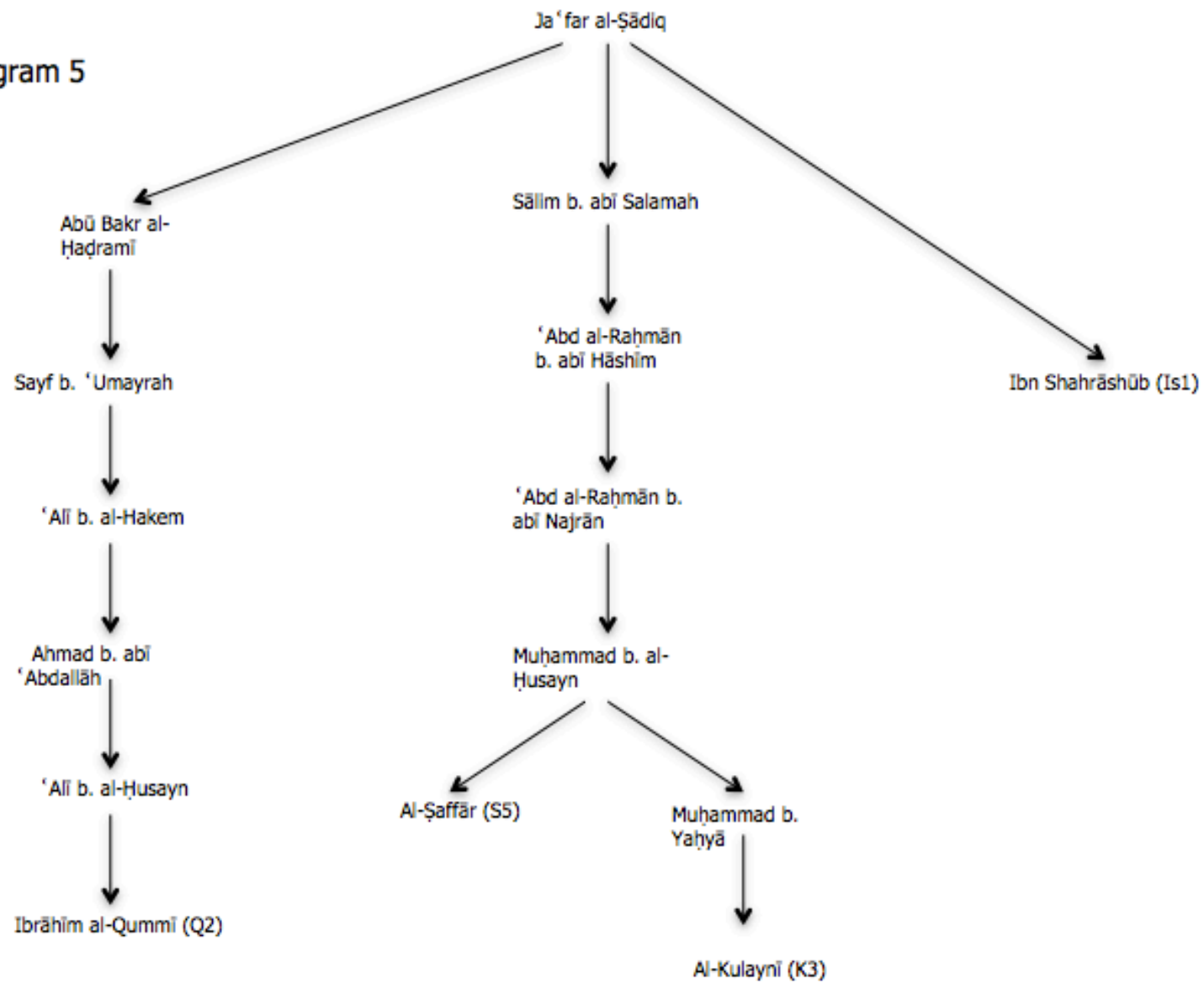
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Hāshim apparently received the version from Sālim b. abī Salama but in al-Kāfī the name was given as Sālim abī Salama. The editor of *al-Kāfī* points this out and considers it a printing error; he states that it should have been Sālim b. abī Salama, referring to Sālim b. Mukarram from whom ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Hāshim al-Bazzāz reports in his book.⁷⁵² Sālim b. abī Salama reports traditions from the sixth Imām⁷⁵³ of whom he was a disciple. The sixth Imām died in 148/765 so we can say Ibn abī Salama was active during the first half of the second century and perhaps still alive when the Imām was assassinated. We have already assumed that Ibn abī Najrān was active during the last quarter of the second century and the first quarter of the third century; therefore it is possible that Ibn abī Najrān reported the tradition from Ibn abī Hāshim and he then reported it from Sālim b. abī Salama. As a result we can trace the tradition from both *asānīd* to the sixth Imām and according to *isnād* criticism we are able to date the tradition to the year 148/765.

⁷⁵¹ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 109.

⁷⁵² Abu Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī fī ‘Ilm al-Dīn*, 4:672.

⁷⁵³ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū‘ī, *Mu‘jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa-Tafṣīl Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt*, 1992, 9:21–22.

Diagram 5



Matn analysis:

Al-Qummī's version is very different from any other variants that apparently give the account of 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān. It states that 'Alī undertook the mission at the behest of the Prophet who before he died, handed over the parts of the Qur'ān that had been written on scrolls, silk and leaves and asked 'Alī to collate it before it was lost similarly to how the Jews lost the Torah. Upon this 'Alī locked himself up in his house and took an oath that he would not come out until he had fulfilled his mission and in the end stated that 'if people had read the Qur'ān as Allah revealed it there would not have been dispute between two people.'

As it stands the *matn* is very different from the other two variants reported from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; it rather resembles the variants reported from 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib which we treated above. The only similarity is the theme of the collection of the Qur'ān and perhaps the final sentence that 'if people had read the Qur'ān as Allāh revealed it there would not have been dispute between two people' which seemingly alludes to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's forbiddance of the reading of the Qur'ān outside of the conventional way. The other themes, such as taking an oath to remain in the house until the collection of the Qur'ān is completed and not wearing his cloak during this period, resemble the variants reported from 'Alī.

However, the variants that were reported from 'Alī did not include information regarding the Prophet's instruction to 'Alī and handing over loose writings of the Qur'ān to 'Alī for the purpose of the collection of the Qur'ān. Is it possible that someone along the line who had access to the other variants forged his own version by compiling the variants attributed to 'Alī and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq? This is a possibility, but we could not find a motivation for the people who were included in the *sanad*. Yet if a forgery was not the case, why then did all the other variants ignore this piece of information that it was the Prophet who instructed 'Alī for the mission? In

addition, why did no other variants mention that the Prophet handed over his loose notes of the Qur'ān to 'Alī?

One explanation might be that the information provided in this variant is coming through the family chain, through Ja'far al-Ṣādiq to 'Alī himself, and somehow along the way it merged with other information such as the Prophet's instruction to 'Alī for the task of collecting the Qur'ān and handing over the loose notes of the Qur'ān. But such an argument does not make much sense since it goes against the information provided in all the other variants, that 'Alī undertook the mission with the fear that the Qur'ān could have been tampered with. Although we have speculated that 'Alī might have used the task of collecting the Qur'ān to avoid major political turmoil as well as to show his disapproval of Abū Bakr's inauguration to office of caliphate, the purpose that he uttered was to avoid any losses from the Qur'ān. If it was the case that the Prophet instructed him to undertake the task, when Abū Bakr summoned him, he could have argued that the Prophet had assigned him the task of collecting the Qur'ān, which would have been a more convincing argument.

As he did not make any such argument, despite the fact that *isnād* analysis could not point out any irregularity, *matn* analysis suggests that this variant is problematic. It is possible that the variant was not fabricated, but rather tampered with in order to strengthen the case of 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān. Undoubtedly, the suggestion of the Prophet's assignment would have made 'Alī's initiative more meaningful and rejection of his work unlawful. Therefore, it seems very probable that somebody along the line tampered with the tradition which very likely should have been in the format of the variants that we treated in the previous section.

As for the texts of al-Ṣaffār and al-Kulaynī's variants, there is no question regarding their similar, if not identical nature. Both texts can be divided into two parts: in the first part Ja'far al-Ṣādiq rebukes a person for reading the Qur'ān in an

unconventional way, and then in the second part he refers to the event of ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān. He states that ‘Alī collected the Qur’ān as it was revealed by God but people rejected it, after which ‘Alī declared that they will never again see it. The first issue that needs to be dealt with is the person who read the Qur’ān in an unconventional way. The tradition has been pointed to as evidence for the existence of the concept of *tahrīf* and variant readings of the Qur’ān. The issues surrounding these concepts are vast and not the subject matter of the present study.

However, in a brief look at the text we can see that there is no explicit reference in this particular tradition to the *tahrīf* of the Qur’ān. The Shī’ite claim has been that only ‘Alī knew the natural order of the chapter of the Qur’ān and in this sense it is more complete than any other codices of the Qur’ān. Therefore, if Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s statement is considered within this frame of reference, it becomes clear that he was not referring to the issue of the *tahrīf* of the Qur’ān, but rather to ‘Alī’s codex as the most complete form of the Qur’ān. Regarding the different reading of the Qur’ān, again he is not endorsing them, but rather condemning the person for reading the Qur’ān in an unconventional way.

With regard to our study, however, the more pressing issue with these variants is that when ‘Alī compiled the Qur’ān and then presented it to people they refused it on the ground that they already possessed the Qur’ān: ‘we already possess the *Muṣḥaf* in which the Qur’ān is collected so we do not need it’ (*Huwa dhā ‘indānā Muṣḥafun Jāmi‘un fihī al-Qur’ānu, lā ḥājah lanā fihī.*). So far we have seen that ‘Alī commenced his compilation of the Qur’ān right after the demise of the Prophet. The variant IS3⁷⁵⁴ states that the collation took place in six month after the demise of the Prophet, yet as no other versions provide this information we cannot verify it.

⁷⁵⁴ See page 293.

If the people rejected ‘Alī’s copy on the ground that they had already collected the Qur’ān, they must have done the collection quicker than ‘Alī who did not even come out of his house while completing the task. According to Muslim accounts, the first copy was initiated at the behest of Abū Bakr after the Battle of Yamāma. Although the battle took place in the same year as the demise of the Prophet, the collection process reportedly started after the war and cannot be expected to have ended in a few weeks’ time. The traditions suggest that it was rather a lengthy process; thus it is not possible that when ‘Alī presented them his collection, they already had Abū Bakr’s copy in hand. Does this mean that what the text states is anachronistic and hence an indication of a forgery? Did the people who forged this tradition not know when Abū Bakr’s copy was collected, and thus inserted this piece of the information, thereby giving away their fabrication? This might be the case if we knew for sure that what they referred to was Abū Bakr’s completed official copy when they rejected ‘Alī’s compilation.

They might have been referring to other personal copies; as we have seen some of the Companions had their own codices. Or they might have been talking about their uncompleted project of collection of the Qur’ān. We cannot be sure what the real reason was but neither of these possibilities makes it sensible to reject a valuable collection of the Qur’ān due to simply having another copy or being in the process of compiling another copy. It appears that there was visible political tension between the rival parties and the collection of the Qur’ān played some role in this tension. Otherwise, if everyone was acting in good will, as was indicated in the Muslim sources, why would someone rebuke ‘Alī among all the people for achieving such a lofty goal? Further, if there was no tension, why would ‘Alī in return take such offence and swear that they will never see his collected Qur’ān? In this regard, it may also be argued that the tradition dates the later tension between the followers of ‘Alī and the Umayyad caliphs back to the time shortly after the demise of the Prophet.

If this analysis is correct, it also put doubts on the narrations stating that what prompted Abū Bakr to initiate collection of the Qurʾān was the significant number of losses of the memorisers of the Qurʾān. If there was such political tension, one might easily speculate that Abū Bakr, who was aware that ʿAlī had not pledged allegiance to him and was busy with the collection of the Qurʾān, could have felt threatened by this act and made a connection between ʿAlī's discontent with his Caliphate and the collection of the Qurʾān. As a result, in order to counter him, he could have ordered the collection of the Qurʾān, but in order to avoid an open confrontation with ʿAlī, he stated his reasons differently. At this point all that remains is speculation since we have not verified the reliability of either account. But perhaps we might get a better picture after completing the study of the remaining variants.

Returning to the study of the two variants (K3 and S5), it is apparent that they contain minute differences, which seem to be the result of handwriting. It is obvious that they were received from the same person; Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb. As we have done before, we can trace the variants to Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭāb's source, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Najrān, who possibly died in the first quarter of the third century. Hence the variants can be traced to the first quarter of the third century.

The last variant included in Ibn Shahrāshūb's work seems to give a more vivid and politically charged account of the event. The *matn* of the variant is different from the other three variants as it provides additional information regarding the event and excludes the first part that we saw in the previous two variants where Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq prevents a man reading the Qurʾān differently. It would be very interesting to examine this variant if it had a *sanad* or *matn* that resembles the others. But since we have neither, there is no point in discussing this variant.

Dating the four traditions in question to Ja‘far al-Šādiq is problematic as there are only two single strands that reach him. In addition, the *mutūn* of the two transmission lines differ heavily and have only two points of congruity:

Version Is1: *‘anna ‘Alī lā yaḍa‘u ridā’ahu ‘alā ‘ātiqihī illā li-al-ṣalāt ḥattā yu’ allifu al-Qur‘ān wa-yajma’ahu fa-inqaṭa‘a ‘anhum muddatan ilā an jama‘ahu,’* (theme can also be found in the tradition of Ibn Sīrīn) and *‘Fa-qāma ilayhi al-thāni fa-qāla lahu: In yakun ‘indaka Qur‘ān fa- ‘indanā mithlahu fa-lā ḥājah lanā fīkumā’* (theme can also be found in S4 and K3).

Version Q1: *‘thumma khatama ‘alayhi fī baytihi wa-qāla: Lā artadī ḥattā ajma‘ahu-fa-innahu kanā al-rajulu la-ya’tīhi fa-yakhruju ilayhi bi-ghayri ridā’in ḥattā jama‘ahu’* (theme can also be found in Is1).

Version S4: *‘qālū huwa dhā ‘indanā Muṣṣhafun jāmi‘un fīhi al-Qur‘ān lā ḥājata lanā fīhi’* (theme can also be found in Is1).

Version K3: *‘Fa-qālū: Huwa dhā ‘indanā Muṣṣhafun Jāmi‘un fīhi al-Qur‘ānu, lā ḥājah lanā fīhi.’* (Theme can be found in Is1 and S4).

According to the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, only these two congruent textual elements, which are mentioned above, can perhaps be ascribed to Ja‘far al-Šādiq, but one of them is also found in the tradition of Ibn Sīrīn and may be adopted from it. Because Ja‘far al-Šādiq belongs to the generation after Ibn Sīrīn, Abū Ja‘far and al-Suddī, it is possible or even probable that the traditions ascribed to Ja‘far al-Šādiq developed later than the others.

Concluding comments

To sum up, in the *isnād* analysis of the variants, I analysed three variants and left out one variant (Is1) as it did not have a *sanad*. The analysis showed that unlike the previous groups of variants the traditions attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq did not include a common link; instead the variants directly reached Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq who is the source of the traditions. As a result, I traced the tradition to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s date of death, 148.

In the *matn* analysis, I again examined three variants (Version Is1’s *matn* did not resemble other variants, hence we exclude it from *matn* analysis as well). One version (Q2) stood out as different from the remaining three variants as it resembled the variants attributed to ‘Alī but also contained some information (for example that it was the Prophet who instructed ‘Alī to collate the Qur’ān) that these variants did not contain. Therefore, I noted that this variant might have been tampered with to support ‘Alī’s position. Further, I also noted that two variants (S5 and K3) contained some information that might potentially be interpreted as evidence for the existence of the concept of *tahrīf*. A brief study of the traditions indicated that such an assumption is not justified.

At the end of the *matn* analysis, I concluded that dating these variants to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is very difficult; there are only two single strands that go back to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Further, the *mutūn* of the two transmission lines have only two points of congruity; apart from the two points they differ significantly. The fact that one of the points of congruity is also found in the tradition attributed to Ibn Sīrīn gave rise to the possibility that it might have been adapted from these traditions. Therefore, it is probable that the traditions ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq developed later than the variants attributed to Ibn Sīrīn and Abū Ja‘far.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TRADITIONS ATTRIBUTED TO IBN SĪRĪN:

The most widely reported traditions regarding the event of ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān are on the authority of ‘Ikrima and Ibn Sīrīn and were mentioned in the Sunnī sources. We have come across around ten variants, but two of them that were reported in *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* and *al-Itqān* were quoted from other books, namely *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq and *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*. The remaining variants were recorded in *Muṣannaf ibn abī Shayba*, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, *al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣhāb* and *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*.

It should be noted that there is a possibility that Ibn Sīrīn's source was ‘Ikrima, despite the fact that he was not included in the *asānīd*; Ibn Sīrīn had received these narrations from his *shaykh* ‘Ikrima but did not mention his name in the *asānīd*. The evidence for this may be that in Ibn Sa‘d’s variant (IS1), although the ‘Ikrima's name was not included in the *sanad*, at the end of the *matn* Ibn Sīrīn mentions ‘Ikrima’s name and thus gives the impression that he was his source. However, at the end of the analysis I will conclude that the source of the tradition was Ibn Sīrīn, and ‘Ikrima was mistakenly thought to be the source.

Isnād analysis:

The first tradition was mentioned in *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 211/826) one of the earliest *hadīth* collections that was recently recovered. Harald Motzki has written extensively about ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s work,⁷⁵⁵ hence there is no need for us to repeat his study here. ‘Abd al-Razzāq received the tradition from

⁷⁵⁵ Harald Motzki, “The *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī as a Source of Authentic Aḥādīth of the First Century AH.”

Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770). As Motzki established, Ma‘mar is one of the prime sources of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. In his selected samples, Motzki found that 32 per cent of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s traditions come from Ma‘mar.⁷⁵⁶ Therefore, it is highly likely that ‘Abd al-Razzāq received the tradition via Ma‘mar from Ayyūb b. abī Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī (66/68–125/131). Motzki also covered the close relationship between Ayyūb and Ma‘mar;⁷⁵⁷ again, there is no need for us to repeat his findings.

1. ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version (Ar1):

‘Abd al-Razzāq ‘an Ma‘mar ‘ān Ayyūb ‘an ‘Ikrima qāla: Lammā būyi‘a li-[sic. bi]⁷⁵⁸ Abī Bakr takhallafa ‘Alī fī baytihi, fa-laqiyaḥu ‘Umar, fa-qāla: Takhallafta ‘an bay‘ati Abī Bakr? Qāla: Innī ālaytu bi-yamīn ḥīna qubīḍa Rasūl Allāh allā artadī bi ridā’ ī illā ilā al-ṣalāt al-maktūbah ḥattā ajma‘a al-Qur‘ān fa-innī khashaytu an yatafallat al-Qur‘ān. Thumma kharaja fa-bāyi‘ahu.^{759 760}

Ma‘mar apparently received the tradition via Ayyūb from ‘Ikrima and we also have a clear idea that Ma‘mar received traditions from ‘Ikrima.⁷⁶¹ As a result one could be tempted to reach a quick conclusion that this variant can be traced back to ‘Ikrima. However, without examination of the all variants, we abstain from such a conclusion and at the end of the analysis will have a further look at the evidence.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁵⁷ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:1–46.

⁷⁵⁸ The correction was made by the editor of *Muṣannaf*.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hamām al-Ṣana‘ānī abū Bakr, *Al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘azmī, First edition, vol. 5 (South Africa: Al-Majlis al-‘Ilmī, 1970), 450.

⁷⁶⁰ ‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ma‘mar from Ayyūb from ‘Ikrima he said: When Abū Bakr received the pledge of alliance, ‘Alī remained in his house. ‘Umar met him and [asked] are you opposing to pledge alliance to Abū Bakr? He said: when the Messenger of God was taken I took an oath that I will not put on my cloak except for the obligatory prayers, until I collect the Qur‘ān; I fear that the Qur‘ān will be lost. He then came out of his house and pledged allegiance to him.

⁷⁶¹ Harald Motzki, “The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭa’* and Legal Traditions,” 1988.

‘Abd al-Razzaq’s version was also quoted by al-Ḥaskānī through Ḥafṣ b. ‘Umar from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abbās from Abī ‘Abbās b. ‘Uqda⁷⁶² but as we have stated at the beginning of this section there is no pressing need to examine this chain.

As for the second variant in this group, al-Ḥaskānī apparently received it from Abū al-Naḍr al-‘Ayyāshī (d. 329), who was the author of a famous Shī‘ite *Tafsīr* work. His full name is Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī Samarqandī. There is a considerable time gap between the two scholars as al-Ḥaskānī died in year 490/1097, and therefore it is impossible that al-Ḥaskānī received the tradition from al-‘Ayyāshī orally. However, as we have seen in version Ḥa1, it is possible that al-Ḥaskānī reported these traditions from the books that al-‘Ayyāshī had written. This view can be reinforced by the fact that al-Ḥaskānī reported ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s variant that we examined above, in his book without mentioning that he took it from ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s book. The tradition is not included in al-‘Ayyāshī’s *Tafsīr* but he was a prolific writer and authored numerous books,⁷⁶³ thus it is very possible that al-Ḥaskānī quoted the tradition from one of those books but did not mention the name of the book.

2. Al-Ḥaskānī’s version (H3):

Abū al-Naḍr al-‘Ayyāshī [al-‘Ayyāsh] qāla [ḥaddathanā] Muḥammad b. Ḥātim qāla: Ḥaddathanī Abū Biḥr Muḥammad bin Naṣr qāla: Ḥaddathanī al-Ḥasan bin Ishāq Abū Ma‘mar [qāla ḥaddathanī] ‘Abd al-Wārith⁷⁶⁴ ‘an Ayyūb ‘an Muḥammad bin Sīrīn qāla: Lammā māta al-Nabī jalasa ‘Alī fī baytihi fa-lam yakhruju fa-qāla li-Abī Bakr: Inna ‘Alī lā yakhruju min al-bayt ka’annahu

⁷⁶² ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā'id al-Tafḍīl fī al-Āyāt al-Nāzilah fī Ahl al-Bayt*, 27.

⁷⁶³ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 136–139.

⁷⁶⁴ His full name is ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd b. Dhakwān al-Tamīmī. He lived in Baṣra and transmitted from Ayyūb b. abī Tamīm. (Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Zakī abī Muḥammad al-Qaḍā‘ī al-Mizzī. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*. Edited by Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf. Vol. 18. 35 vols. Beirut: Mu‘assasa al-Risālah, 1980, pp.478-480.)

kariha imārataka. Fa-arsala ilayhi fa-qāla: A-karihta imāratī? Fa-qāla: Mā
 karihtu imārataka wa-lakinnī arā al-Qurʾān yuzād fihi fa-ḥallaftu an lā artadī
 bi-ridāʾ ī illā li- jamāʾah ḥattā ajmaʾahu. Qāla Ibn Sīrīn: Fa-nubbiʾtu annahu
 kitāb al-mansūkh wa-kitāb al-nāsikh fī atharihi.^{765 766}

Nevertheless, as we have done before we will skip this version in the *isnād* analysis but will come back to it in *matn* analysis. As a result of the study of the first group of *asānīd* bundles, we can conclude that al-Ḥaskānī's version (H3) cannot be traced back to ʿIkrima.

We have five variants that reach Ibn Sīrīn through Ibn ʿAwn and Ayyūb. The first is Ibn al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī's version that he received from Aḥmad. Ibn al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī was based in Ray and died in 294/906.⁷⁶⁷ He apparently received the tradition from Aḥmad who was Aḥmad b. Yūnus, a *shaykh* of al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī. He was a Kūfī scholar and it is estimated that Aḥmad b. Yūnus was born around year 132 and died in year 227. Al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim were among his many pupils.⁷⁶⁸ There does not seem to be any reason why al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī could not receive the tradition from Aḥmad b. Yūnus. However, Aḥmad b. Yūnus apparently received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Makhlad b. Ḥafṣ, who was born in 233 and died in year 331, therefore making it impossible for him to have transmitted the tradition to Aḥmad b.

⁷⁶⁵ ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā'id al-Tafḍīl fī al-Āyāt al-Nāzilāh fī Ahl al-Bayt*, 28.

⁷⁶⁶ Abū al-Naḍr al-ʿAyyāsh he said [I have been told by]: Muḥammad b. Ḥātim he said: I have been told by Abū Bihr Muḥammad b. Naṣr, he said I have been told by al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq Abū Maʿmar [he said I have been told by]: ʿAbd al-Wārith [b. Saʿīd] ʿan Ayyūb from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn he said: When the Messenger died ʿAlī sat in his house and did not come out. Abū Bakr was told: ʿAlī does not come out of his house [to pledge allegiance] because he dislikes your leadership. [Abu Bakr] sent for him and [when ʿAlī arrived] he asked: 'Do you dislike my leadership?' He replied: 'I do not dislike your leadership but I see that [words] are being inserted into the Qurʾān, therefore, I have taken an oath that I will not put on my cloak except for the congregational [prayers] until I collect it.' Ibn Sīrīn said: "I have been informed that the books of *nāsikh* and *mansūkh* [have been written by ʿAlī] after it [the collection of the Qurʾān]."

⁷⁶⁷ Ibn Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī, *Faḍā'il al-Qurʾān*, 1st ed. (Damascus, Syria: Dār al-Fikr, 1987), 36.

⁷⁶⁸ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā'*, vol. 11 (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risālah, 2001), 457-458.

Yūnus. It is possible that the name was misspelled but we are unable to verify this, therefore it is best to stop analysing the *isnād*.

3. Ibn al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī's version (Idb1):

Akhbarnā Aḥmad qaththanā Muḥammad qaththanā Abū 'Alī Bishr bin Mūsā qaththanā Hawza bin Khalīfah qaththanā [Ibn] 'Awn 'an Muḥammad bin Sīrīn 'an 'Ikrima fī-ma aḥṣabu qāla: Lammā kāna ba'da bay'at Abī Bakr qa'ada 'Alī bin abī Ṭālib fī baytihi fa-qīla li- Abī Bakr: Qad qariha bay'ataka, fa-arsala ilayhi. Fa-qāla: A-karihta bay'atī? Qāla: Lā wa-llāhi. Qāla: Mā aq'adaka 'annī? Fa- qāla: Ra'aytu Kitāb Allāh yuzād fīhi, fa- ḥaddathtu nafsī allā al-basa ridā' ī illā li-ṣalātin ḥattā ajma'ahu. Qāla lahu Abū Bakr: Fa-innaka ni'ma mā ra'ayta Qāla Muḥammad qultu li- 'Ikrima: Allafahū kamā unzila, al-awwal fa- al-awwal? Qāla: Law ijtama't al-ins wa-al-jinn 'alā an yu'allifūhu dhālika al-ta'līf mā istaṭā 'ū. ^{769 770}

4. Al-Suyūṭī's version (Su1):

Akhraja b. al-Ḍurays fī Faḍā'ilihi [Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān]: Ḥaddathanā Bishr bin Mūsā ḥaddathanā Hawzah bin Khalīfah ḥaddathanā [Ibn] 'Awn 'an Muḥammad bin Sīrīn 'an 'Ikrima qāla:⁷⁷¹

-The *matn* is identical.

⁷⁶⁹ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Damascus, Syria: Dār al-Fikr, 1987), 32.

⁷⁷⁰ Aḥmad has reported us, Muḥammad has narrated us, Abū 'Alī Bishr b. Mūsā has narrated us, Hawzah b. Khalīfah has narrated us, Ibn 'Awn has narrated us, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn from 'Ikrima as I suppose qāla: At the beginning of Abū Bakr's caliphate, 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib sat in his house in order to compile the Qur'ān'. Abū Bakr was told that "He ['Alī] does not wish to swear allegiance to you." Abū Bakr then sent for him and when 'Alī was present, he said, "Are you averse to swearing allegiance to me?" He ['Alī] said, "No! By God." He [Abū Bakr] said, "What makes you upset with me?" He said, "I have noticed that something has been added to the Book of God. So I have promised to myself that I will not put on my cloak except for the prayer until I have collected it." Abū Bakr replied: "What you thought is very well!" Muḥammad said: I asked 'Ikrima: "Did he compile it as it was first revealed?" He said: "Were mankind and the jinn to come together to compile it like this, they would not be able to do so."

⁷⁷¹ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 130.

Al-Suyūṭī quotes the same tradition from Abī ‘ Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī’s (d. 294/906) work entitled *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*.⁷⁷² However, he removes some of the names from the *sanad*. Suyūṭī also quotes a follow-up from Kitāb al-*Masāhif* of Ibn Ashta al-Isfahānī (d. 360/970) that ‘Ibn Sīrīn said: “So I requested that book [‘Alī’s compilation of the Qur’ān] and wrote to Medina for it but I was not able to acquire it.”⁷⁷³ It seems Ibn Ashta’s work has not made it to the present day but there is no apparent reason to suspect that al-Suyūṭī would misinform us on this narration.

In a shorter chain of narration a famous *Kūfī ḥadīth* collector, ‘ Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm abī Shayba (159-235),⁷⁷⁴ reports another variant from Yazīd b. Hārūn in his *Muṣannaf*.⁷⁷⁵ Ibn abī Shayba resided in Baghdad and was the brother of ‘ Uthmān and al-Qāsim.⁷⁷⁶ Yazīd’s full name is Yazīd b. Hārūn b. Wādī and he was also called Zādhān b. Thābit al-Salāmī. He was a very well-known scholar of his time⁷⁷⁷ and was born in year 118 in Bukhārā and died in year 206/821.⁷⁷⁸ He used the teknonym Abū Khālid.⁷⁷⁹ Yazīd b. Hārūn was one of Ibn abī Shayba’s most frequently cited sources as he cited 87 traditions from him in his *Muṣannaf*.⁷⁸⁰ There does not seem to be any reason why Yazīd b. Hārūn could not have transmitted the variant to Ibn abī Shayba.

⁷⁷² Ibn abī Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḍurays, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān wa-ma unzila min al-Qur’ān bi-Makkah wa-ma unzila bi-al-Madinah*, 1st ed. (Damascus, Syria: Dār al-Fikr, 1987).

⁷⁷³ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*, 130.

⁷⁷⁴ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 11 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 259–267.

⁷⁷⁵ For a detailed analysis of the work and information about Ibn Abī Shayba see Scott C. Lucas. “Where Are the Legal Ḥadīth? A Study of the Musannaf of Ibn Abi Shayba.” *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 283–314.

⁷⁷⁶ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 2001, 11:260.

⁷⁷⁷ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, First edition, vol. 11 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 366.

⁷⁷⁸ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 16 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 494.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16:103–105.

⁷⁸⁰ Scott C. Lucas, “Where Are the Legal Ḥadīth? A Study of the Musannaf of Ibn Abi Shayba,” *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 292.

5. Ibn Abī Shayba's version (Ias1):

Ḥaddathanā Yazīd bin Hārūn qāla: Akhbarnā b. 'Awn 'an Muḥammad qāla: Lammā ustukhlifa Abū Bakr qa'ada 'Alī fī baytihi fa-qīla li-Abī Bakr fa-arsala ilayhi: "Akrahta khilāfatī? Qāla: Lā! Lam akhrah khilāfataka. Wa-lākin kāna al-Qur'ānu yuzādu fīhi. Fa-lammā qubiḍa Rasūl Allāh (ṣ) ja'altu 'alayya an lā artadī illā [li-ṣ-ṣalāti] ḥattā ajma'ahu li-n-nāsi. Fa-qāla Abū Bakr: Ni'ma mā ra'ayta.^{781 782}

Yazīd b. Hārūn apparently reports the tradition from 'Abdallāh b. 'Awn who was also a famous *ḥadīth* transmitter. According to Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn 'Awn lived between 66 and 151 and was active in Madina, Baṣra, Kūfa, Mecca and al-Shām. He heard traditions from Ibn Sīrīn in Baṣra.^{783 784} 'Abdallāh b. 'Awn is one of the partial common links in this *asānīd* bundle as he spreads the tradition to other collectors. Yet, again there was no obstacle for him to have reported the tradition from Ibn Sīrīn. In addition there does not seem to be any motivation for him to have fabricated the tradition. Muḥammad b. Sīrīn abū Bakr al-Baṣrī, *mawlā* of Anas b. Mālīk, was a Baṣrī scholar who lived between 33/653 and 110/728 and died in

⁷⁸¹ 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shayba*, ed. Usāmah Ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Abū Muḥammad, vol. 10 (Cairo: Al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah lil-Ṭabā'āh wa al-Nashr, 2007), 65.

⁷⁸² I have been told by Yazīd b. Hārūn he said: I have been informed by Ibn 'Awn from Muḥammad [Ibn Sīrīn] he said: When Abū Bakr became the Caliph 'Alī remained in his house, Abū Bakr was told [about this] and he sent for him, [and when 'Alī arrived Abū Bakr asked him]: Do you dislike my Caliphate? "No! I do not dislike your caliphate. But, there has been an insertion into the Qur'ān. Hence when the Prophet was taken, I imposed on myself that I will not put on [my cloak] except [for the prayer] until I have collected it [the Qur'ān] for the people". Abū Bakr replied: "What you thought was excellent!"

⁷⁸³ Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, First edition, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 347.

⁷⁸⁴ See also Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhahbī. *Siyar A'ālām al-Nubalā'*. Vol. 6. 24 vols. Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001, pp.364-375.

Başra.⁷⁸⁵ Although he was a Sunnī scholar, in his *al-Amālī* al-Ṭūsī reports four traditions from Ibn Sīrīn on the authority of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Anas b. Mālik.⁷⁸⁶

Ibn Sīrīn is seemingly the common link of this bundle of *asānīd* as he spreads the tradition to other transmitters; however as we have noted earlier that Ayyūb also received the tradition from ‘Ikrima, we can no longer consider him the common link but one of the disseminators of the tradition. Ibn Sīrīn’s source is also a renowned *ḥadīth* transmitter ‘Ikrima al-Barbarī Abū ‘Abdallāh (d. between 104/722-3 and 106/724-5),⁷⁸⁷ *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Abbās. Sunnī sources provide conflicting information regarding his personality as some suggest he was a great liar and mad person while others suggest that he was *thiqa*.^{788 789} However, Shī’ite scholars have unanimously considered him a great liar who strayed outside of the boundaries of Islam. He has also been imputed of *Khawārij* tendencies.⁷⁹⁰

In the light of our study on the copy of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s tradition, it appears that ‘Ikrima was both the common link and source for these *asānīd* clusters. But it is debatable if he was an eyewitness to the event that he reports. The Prophet died in the eleventh year of the *Hijra* and the event of the collection of the Qur’ān took place within the year he died or the next year. Therefore, if ‘Ikrima died in year 104 or 106 he would have needed to live well over 100 years in order to witness the event. Since he did not report any traditions from the Prophet we can be sure he did not have such long life and could not have been eyewitness to the event. However,

⁷⁸⁵ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 2001, 3:283–293.

⁷⁸⁶ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Amālī* (Qum: Muassasah Bi‘thah, 1993).

⁷⁸⁷ Harald Motzki, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, 78:258.

⁷⁸⁸ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, First edition, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 261–273.

⁷⁸⁹ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001), 13–23.

⁷⁹⁰ For the Shī’ite view on ‘Ikrima see al-Sayyid ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī al-Muḥaqqiq. *Tashyīd al-Marāji‘ āt*. First edition. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Qum: The Office of the Author, 1996, pp.203-204.

he had access to the main protagonist of the event, ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib, and perhaps other eyewitnesses of the event, therefore it is possible that he heard the accounts of the event from ‘Alī and then disseminated it to others. Is it possible that he invented the traditions? This might be possible, but considering the strong dislike of him by the Shī‘ites who considered him an enemy due to his *khawārij* tendencies, it is difficult to argue that he was a passionate follower of ‘Alī and wanted to invent such a tradition to further elevate ‘Alī’s status among Muslims. Rather, on the contrary he seemed to adopt an anti-‘Alī stance that provoked a strong sentiment from ‘Alī’s followers. Nobody else in the chain of transmission had any motivation to invent the tradition either, so as a result of *isnād* analysis we can conclude that the tradition can be dated to ‘Ikrima’s date of death which is year 104 or 106.

Another version was reported in Muḥammad b. Sa‘d’s (168/784-230/845) *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*.⁷⁹¹ He reports the tradition from Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. 193/808 or 194/809), one of his frequent sources. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm was known as Ibn ‘Ulayya and was a celebrated *hadīth* transmitter who was judged as *thiqa*. He was originally from Kūfa but resided in al-Baṣra.^{792 793} Biographical information indicates that he had a connection with Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, who could thus later report the tradition from Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm. Further, we cannot note any motivation for either of them to have invented the tradition. They were both Sunnī scholars and did not take any interest in the possibility of ‘Alī’s political and religious authority as Imām. They indeed held him in high esteem as he was the fourth caliph but this in itself does not warrant the act of inventing traditions to merely elevate the status of

⁷⁹¹ For an analysis of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* and biography of Ibn Sa‘d see Ahmad Nazir Atassi. “A History of Ibn Sa‘d’s Biographical Dictionary Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr.” Unpublished, University of California, 2009.

⁷⁹² Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, First edition, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 275–279.

⁷⁹³ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 196–211.

a caliph. Yet, they transmitted a tradition that clearly states that ‘Alī collated the Qur’ān right after the demise of the Prophet.

6. Ibn Sa‘d’s version (Is1):

Akhbarnā Ismā‘īl bin Ibrāhīm ‘an Ayyūb wa-Ibn ‘Awn ‘an Muḥammad qāla:
Nubbi’tu anna ‘Alī abṭa’a ‘an bay‘ati Abī Bakr fa-laqiyahu Abū Bakr fa-qāla:
A-karihta imārati? Fa-qāla: Lā, wa-lākinnī ālaytu bi-yamīnin an lā artadī bi-
ridā’ ī illā ilā al-ṣalāt ḥattā ajma’a al-Qur’ān! Qāla: Fa-za‘amū annahu
katabahu ‘alā tanzīlihi. Qāla Muḥammad: Fa-law uṣīb dhālika al-Kitāba kāna
fihi ‘ilm. Qāla Ibn ‘Awn: Fa-sa’altu ‘Ikrima ‘an dhālika al-Kitāb fa-lam
ya‘rifuhu.^{794 795}

Similar to ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s transmission, in which Ma‘mar received the tradition from Ayyūb b. abī Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī (66/68–125/131), Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm received the tradition from Ayyūb b. abī Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī (66/68–125/131) and also from ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awn (66-151). The time period in which Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm lived overlaps with the time period in which both Ibn ‘Awn and Ayyūb lived, and they also operated in the same geographical locations. Consequently, we can accept that Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm may have received the tradition from the two transmitters. This finding cements the position of Ibn ‘Awn and Ayyūb as partial common links and increases the accuracy of the dating of the tradition at least up to the two transmitters. Further, from the two transmitters the tradition reaches in some versions to Ibn Sīrīn and in others partially via Ibn Sīrīn also to ‘Ikrima. The name of ‘Ikrima was not mentioned in the *sanad* of the tradition but was mentioned in the

⁷⁹⁴ Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Manī‘ al-Zuhri, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad ‘Umar, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥanafī, 2001), 292.

⁷⁹⁵ I have been reported by Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm from Ayyūb and Ibn ‘Awn from Muḥammad [Ibn Sīrīn] he said: I was told that ‘Alī delayed pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr, then he met him and [Abū Bakr] said: “Do you dislike my leadership (*imārati*)?” [‘Alī] replied: “No! But I have taken an oath that I would not put on my robe for anything except the prayer until I collect the Qur’ān” He [Ibn Sīrīn] said: “They claim that he [‘Alī] indeed wrote it [the Qur’ān] as it was revealed”. Muḥammad [Ibn Sīrīn] continued: “If I could get hold of that Book there would be knowledge in it.” Ibn Awn said: “I asked ‘Ikrima about that Book but he did not know [about] it.”

matn as Ibn Sīrīn stated, 'I asked 'Ikrima about that Book but he does not know [about] it.' As we have stated earlier, this statement suggests that Ibn Sīrīn might have reported other similar traditions from 'Ikrima without giving his name in the *sanad*. But this needs to be further verified through *matn* analysis.

Al-Ḥaskānī (d. 490/1097) reported the following version from Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was a famous Shī'ite scholar known as al-Kashshī. Wilferd Madelung states that he was originally from Kishsh in Transoxania and was mostly active during the first half of the fourth century. Al-Kashshī was a student of celebrated Shī'ite scholar Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī, who played an important role in the dissemination of Imāmī Shī'ite teachings in Transoxania in the early fourth/tenth century. Al-Kashshī studied under al-'Ayyāshī in Samarqand and also visited Iraq. He was regarded as *thiqa*⁷⁹⁶ but Madelung states that similar to his teacher he was criticised by later Shī'ite scholars for reporting traditions from weak transmitters.⁷⁹⁷ The information provided by Madelung who relies on major Shī'ite sources is sufficient to accept al-Ḥaskānī could have received the tradition from his Shī'ite informant al-Kashshī.

7. Al-Ḥaskānī's version (H4):

Ḥaddathanī Abū 'Amr Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-'Azīz qāla akhbarnā Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Ya'qūb qāla: Akhbaranā 'Abdallāh bin Maḥmūd al-Sa'dī [qāla akhbaranā] 'Alī bin Ḥijr [akhbaranā] Ismā'il /ha-ba/ bin Ibrāhīm 'an Ibn 'Awn 'an Muḥammad bin Sīrīn qāla: Nubbi'tu anna Abā Bakr laqiya 'Alī ṣalawāt Allāh 'alayh fa- qāla [Abū Bakr]: A-karihta imārati? Fa- qāla: Lā, wa lākinnī ālaytu 'alā yamīnin an lā artadī ridā' ī [kadhā] illā li-al-ṣalāt ḥattā ajma'a al-Qur'ān! Qāla: Fa- katabahu 'alā tanzīlihi. Qalā: Fa-

⁷⁹⁶ Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 356–357.

⁷⁹⁷ Wilferd Madelung, "Al-Kashshī," ed. P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Brill Online, 2012), <http://brillonline.nl/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-kashshi-SIM_3976>.

law aşabtu dhālika al-Kitāba kāna fihi ‘ilm kathīr. Qāla Muḥammad bin Sīrīn:
Fa- sa’altu ‘Ikrima fa-lam ya ‘rifhu.^{798 799}

Al-Kashshī apparently received the tradition from Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb, who is Ibn Shayba al-Sadūsī al-Baghdādī and was also known as al-Ṣadūq abū Bakr. He was born in 251/865 and died in 331/943 in Bagdad.⁸⁰⁰ Al-Kashshī must have met him when he visited Iraq perhaps for pilgrimage as well as for the sake of seeking traditions which was a common practice of the time. Since Shī‘ite sources do not mention him we might assume that he was a Sunnī scholar from whom al-Kashshī did not hesitate to receive the tradition. According to *isnād*, Ibn abī Shayba al-Sadūsī received the tradition from ‘Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sa‘dī. His full name is Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sa‘dī al-Marwazī. He was a famous scholar and transmitter of his time. He was rated *thiqa* and died in 311/923.⁸⁰¹

‘Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sa‘dī is said to have received it from ‘Alī b. Ḥijr. His full name is ‘Alī b. Ḥijr b. Iyyās Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sa‘dī al-Marwazī. ‘Alī b. Ḥijr was from Khorasan but travelled to Damascus for education and stayed there. He was born in year 154/771 and died in 244/858. He was graded as *thiqa*.⁸⁰² He was a highly reputable scholar and *ḥadīth* transmitter and some of the most prominent *ḥadīth* scholars such as al-Bukhārī, al-Muslim and al-Tirmidhī reported traditions from him.⁸⁰³ Biographical information suggests that there were no physical barriers for

⁷⁹⁹ ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā‘id al-Tafḍīl fī al-Āyāt al-Nāzilāh fī Ahl al-Bayt*, 27–28.

⁸⁰⁰ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashār ‘Awad Ma‘rūf, 1st edition, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 248–249.

⁸⁰¹ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 14 (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001), 399–400; Abū ‘Abdallāh Shams al-Dīn al-Dhabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol. 2 (Beirut-Lebanon: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmī, 1998), 206.

⁸⁰² Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīna Dimashq*, ed. ‘Alī Shīrī, vol. 41 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1990), 296–299.

⁸⁰³ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 2001, 11:508–514.

these scholars to report the tradition from each other and we cannot note any motivation for them to have invented the tradition.

‘Alī b. Ḥijr then reports the tradition from Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm, called Ibn ‘Ulayya, who as we have noted above, died in 193 or 194. Then the *isnād* goes through Ibn ‘Awn and Ibn Sīrīn and finally reaches ‘Ikrima. As we have discussed their connection earlier, through the *isnād* analysis we can conclude that this variant can also be dated to ‘Ikrima’s date of death, year 104/722 or 106/724. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Andalusī al-Qurtubī, who was a very famous Mālikī scholar and *ḥadīth* collector, transmits another variant. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was born and lived in Cordoba, Andalusia and enjoyed a very long life as he was born in year 368/978 and died in 463/1071.⁸⁰⁴ He received the tradition from Khalaf b. Qāsim, whose full name is Ibn Sahl abū al-Qāsim b. Dabbāgh al-Azdī al-Andalusī al-Qurtubī.

8. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s version (Ia1):

Ḥaddathanā Khalaf bin Qāsim ḥaddathanā ‘Abdallāh bin ‘Umar ḥaddathanā Aḥmad bin Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj ḥaddathanā Yaḥyā bin Sulaymān ḥaddathanā Ismā‘īl bin ‘Ulayya ḥaddathanā Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī ‘an Muḥammad bin Sīrīn qāla: Lammā būyi‘a Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq abṭa‘a ‘Alī ‘an bay‘atihi. Wa-jalasa fī baytihi. Fa-ba‘atha ilayhi Abū Bakr: Mā abṭa‘a bika ‘annī! A-karihta imāratī? Fa-qāla ‘Alī: Mā karihtu imārataka. Wa-lākinnī ālaytu allā artadī riḍā‘ī illā ilā ṣalāt ḥattā ajma‘a al-Qur‘ān. Qāla ibn Sīrīn: Fa-balaghanī annahu kutiba ‘alā tanzīlihi. Wa- law uṣība dhālika al-Kitāb la-wujida fīhi ‘ilm kathīr.^{805 806}

⁸⁰⁴ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A ‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 18 (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001), 153–163.

⁸⁰⁵ ‘Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣḥāb*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), 973–974.

⁸⁰⁶ We have been told by Khalaf b. Qasīm from ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj from Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān from Ismā‘īl b. [Ibrāhīm] ‘Ulayya from Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn that: ‘Alī delayed pledging alliance to Abū Bakr and stayed in his house. [Upon this] Abū Bakr sent someone to ‘Alī asking him “why have you been slow [in pledging alliance to me?]. Do you dislike my leadership?” ‘Alī replied: “I do not dislike your leadership. But I have sworn

He was born in 325/937 died in 363/973. Al-Dhahabī states that he travelled to Syria and perhaps he heard the tradition there and brought it to Cordoba.⁸⁰⁷ However, there is a significant time gap between Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Khalaf b. Qāsim hence it is safe to conclude that Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr did not receive the tradition from Khalaf b. Qāsim personally but perhaps saw the tradition in one of his books. Nevertheless there is no point in carrying on with the *isnād* analysis for this particular variant. *Asānīd* via Ibn ‘Ulayya were already found in IS1 and H4 above.

9. Al-Ḥaskānī’s version (H5):

Ḥaddathanī Abū al-Qāsim [‘an] Abī Muḥammad bin al-Qāsim [‘an] Hishām bin Yūnus qāla: Ḥaddathanī Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Ḍarīr ‘an al-Ḥasan bin Dīnār [kadhā] ‘an b. Sīrīn ‘an Abā Bakr: Lamma būyi‘a [li-Abī Bakr] jalasa ‘Alī fī baytihi fa- atāhu rajulun fa- qāla: Inna ‘Alī qad karihaka. Fa- arsala ilayhi fa- qāla: A- karihtanī? Fa-qāla wa-llāhī mā karihtuka. Ghayra anna Rasūl Allāh qubiḍa wa- lam yajma‘ al-Qur‘ān fa- karihtu an yuzād fīhi fa- ālaytu bi-yamīnin ha/alif/lā [allā] akhraja illā [li-] al-Ṣalāt ḥattā ajma‘ahu. [Qāla Abū Bakr:] Ni‘ma mā ra’aytu.^{808 809}

Al-Ḥaskānī reports this version from Abū al-Qāsim, but it is not certain who he is referring to. There are several other Abū al-Qāsims, such as Abū al-Qāsim al-

that I will not wear my cloak except for prayer until I collect the Qur‘ān.” Ibn Sīrīn said that I have heard that he [‘Alī] wrote it as it was revealed. If I could acquire this book there would be great knowledge in it.”

⁸⁰⁷ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 17 (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001), 114–115.

⁸⁰⁸ ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā‘id al-Tafḍīl fī al-Āyāt al-Nāzilāh fī Ahl al-Bayt*, 26.

⁸⁰⁹ I have been told by Abū al-Qāsim [from] abī Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim [from] Hishām b. Yūnus he said: I have been told by Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Ḍarīr from al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār [and similarly] from Ibn Sīrīn that when Abū Bakr received the pledge of allegiance ‘Alī remained in his house, and a man came and told [Abū Bakr] ‘Alī dislikes you [being the caliph]. He then sent someone for him and said: Do you dislike me? He [‘Alī] said by God I do not dislike you; the Messenger of God was taken without having collected the Qur‘ān and I was afraid that there might be insertion to it, thus I have taken an oath that I will not leave [my house] except for the prayer until I collect it. [Abū Bakr said] That is an excellent decision.

Qurayshī (d. 523/1127), Abū al-Qāsim al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027), Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī and Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī. I could not find any information regarding the last two transmitters, but it seems Abū al-Qāsim refers to Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī or Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī. I suspect it was Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī because al-Ḥaskānī reports another tradition from Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī that goes through Abī Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. Al-Ḥaskānī also reports a few traditions from Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī through his father. But we could not find any information about this person so I will treat him as an unknown person in the *sanad*.

The next person in the chain is Abū Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim who is Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Muḥāribī, a Kūfī scholar. He died in 326/937.⁸¹⁰ There are around 164 years between the dates of death of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Muḥāribī and al-Ḥaskānī, thus there need to be at least two transmitters between them to enable al-Ḥaskānī to have received the tradition. It is possible that al-Ḥaskānī, similar to some other traditions mentioned in the book, received the tradition Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī, through his father, but did not mention him in the *sanad*. But since we do not know who Abū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī was, this could render our conclusion too speculative. Therefore, we may end the *isnād* analysis for this version too.

The last variant was reported by Ibn abī Dāwūd (230/844 - 316/928), the son of the famous *ḥadīth* collector Abū Dāwūd. He was born in Sijistān (Sīstān, Eastern Iran) and widely travelled together with his father.⁸¹¹ He mentioned this tradition in his work *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*. Ibn abī Dāwūd reports the tradition from Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Aḥmasī (d. 260/874) whose full name is Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl Samrah al-

⁸¹⁰ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A ‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 15 (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001), 73.

⁸¹¹ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A ‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 13 (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 2001), 204–221.

Aḥmasī abū Ja‘far al-Kūfī al-Sarrāj. He reports from transmitters like Abū Mu‘āwiya, Ibn ‘Uyayna and al-Muḥāribī. Some famous Sunnī scholars such as al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā‘ī, and Ibn Mājah report traditions from him. In addition, Shaykh al-Mufīd in his *al-Amālī*⁸¹² reports a tradition from him. He is regarded as *thiqa*.⁸¹³

Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Aḥmasī then reports it from Ibn Fuḍayl who is Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān b. Jarīr. He was a Kūfī scholar and authored several books. Sunnī sources generally consider him to be *thiqa*. However, Abū Dāwūd considers him a deviant Shī‘ite and believes that he was extreme in his Shī‘ite views. He died in 194/807 or 195/808.⁸¹⁴ On the other hand, Shī‘ite sources do not mention him being a *ghālī*. Al-Ṭūsī considers him *thiqa*⁸¹⁵ and a prolific *ḥadīth* transmitter. He was believed to be a disciple of the Sixth Imām and was a client of the tribe of Banū Ḍabbah.⁸¹⁶ Since Shī‘ite sources do not mention him as *ghālī* we assume that Abū Dāwūd’s remark reflected his own opinion about the Shī‘ite sect in general. Ibn Fuḍayl then reports the tradition from Ash‘ath b. Sawār al-Kindī. He was a Kūfī scholar and died in year 136. He reported traditions from both ‘Ikrima and Ibn Sīrīn. He was a client of *Thaqīf*.⁸¹⁷

10. Ibn abī Dāwūd’s version (Iad1):

Ḥaddathanā ‘Abdallāh qāla: Ḥaddathanā Muḥammad bin Ismā‘īl al-Aḥmasī qāla: Ḥaddathanā Ibn Fuḍayl ‘an Ash‘ath ‘an Muḥammad bin Sīrīn qāla: Lammā tuwuffiya al-nabī (ṣ) aqsama ‘Alī an lā yartadī bi- ridā’ i illā li jamā‘ah ḥattā yajma‘a al-Qur‘ān fī Muṣḥaf fa- fa‘ala fa-arsala ilayhi Abū Bakr ba‘da ayyāmin: a-karihta imāratī yā Abā al-Ḥasan? Qāla lā, wa-llāhi illā

⁸¹² Ibn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Mufīd, *Al-Amālī* (Qum: Kongreh-i Shaykh Mufīd, 1992), 337.

⁸¹³ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 1984, 9:58–59.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 9:405–406.

⁸¹⁵ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, 292.

⁸¹⁶ Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn, *A‘yān al-Shī‘ah*, n.d., 10:37–39.

⁸¹⁷ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 1984, 1:352–353; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahbī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 6 (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risālah, 2001), 276–278.

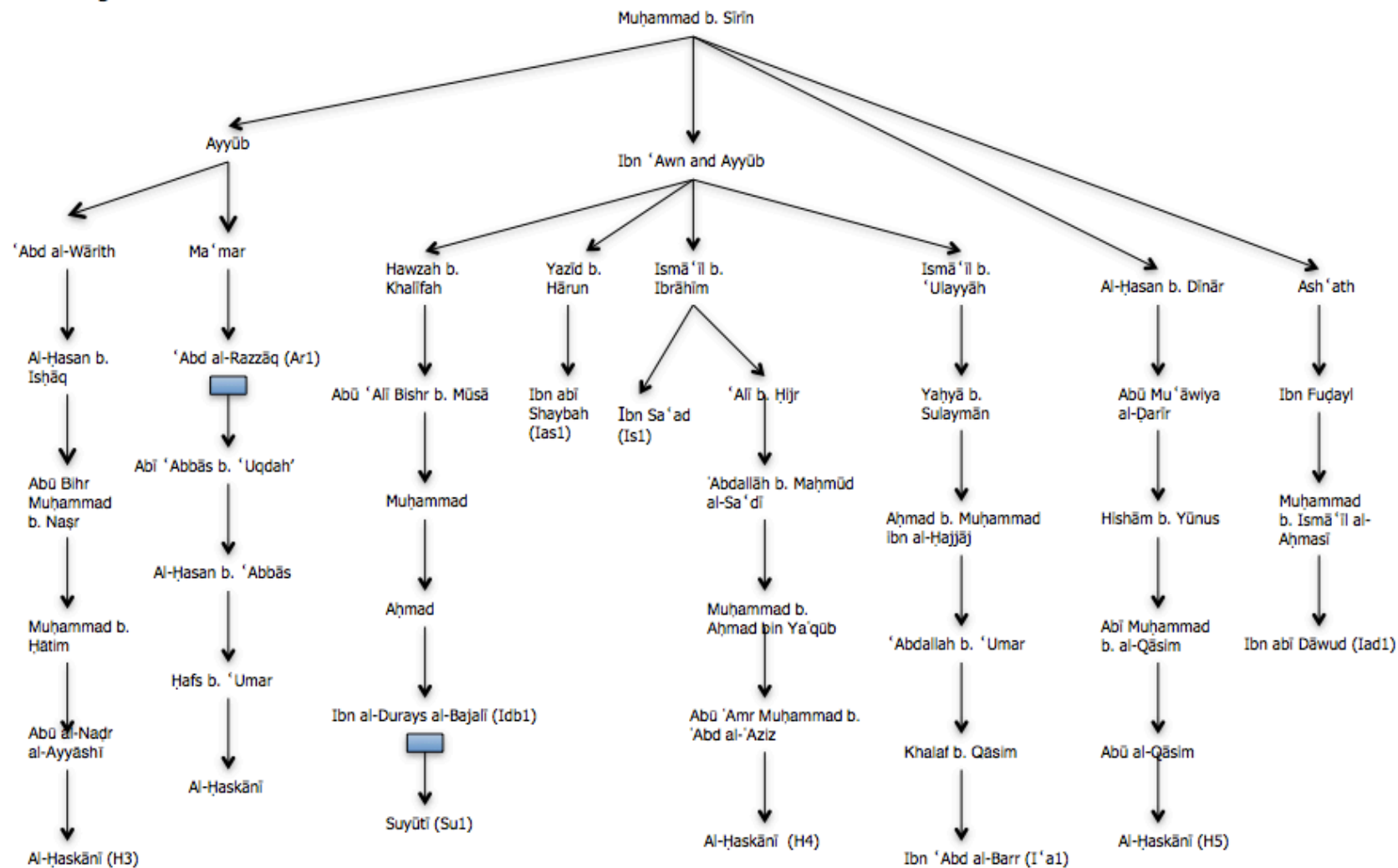
annī aqsamtu an lā artadī bi- ridā' in illā li- jamā'ah fabāya'ahū thumma
raja'a.^{818 819}

It seems that there was no apparent obstacle for him to have received the tradition from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, thus this variant can also be traced back to the death of Ibn Sīrīn. As a result of *isnād* analysis, we can conclude that only three traditions end with 'Ikrima (Ar1, Idb1 and Su1), and two of them are interdependent (Idb1 and Su1). Seven traditions, however, end with Ibn Sīrīn (H3, Ias1, IS1, H4, I'a1, H5, Iad1). Therefore, we may reach the conclusion that originally all these traditions end with Ibn Sīrīn and that 'Abd al-Razzāq's *isnād* must contain an error. The transmissions via 'Abd al-Wārith and Ibn 'Ulayya and the combined version Ibn 'Ulayya's from Ayyūb and Ibn 'Awn contain a comment from an anonymous about 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān. It could be that Ma'mar identified this anonymous person as 'Ikrima, who is mentioned in the transmission of Ibn 'Awn as the person whom Ibn Sīrīn consults on the issue. This confirms the possibility that 'Abd al-Razzāq's tradition from Ayyūb (*isnād* and *matn*) is deficient. 'Ikrima is the only the person whom Ibn Sīrīn interrogated on the issue of 'Alī's collection, not the narrator of the story about the accomplishment of it.

⁸¹⁸ Abū Bakr 'Abdallāh b. Abī Dāwūd, *Kitāb Al-Maṣāḥif* (Beirut-Lebanon: Ḥar al-Kutub al-'Imiyya, No date), 16.

⁸¹⁹ I have been told by 'Abdallāh he said I have been told by Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Aḥmasī he said: I have been told by Ibn Fuḍayl from Ash'ath from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn he said: When the Prophet passed away 'Alī swore that he would not put on his cloak except for congregational prayers until he had compiled the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf* and he did so. After some days Abū Bakr sent for him and [when he arrived] asked: O Abū al-Ḥasan do you dislike my leadership? He said: no, but by God I have sworn that I will not put on my cloak except for congregational prayers. He then pledged allegiance to him and returned [to his house].

Diagram 6



Matn analysis:

The *mutūn* of this bundle of traditions are very similar. They all mention the notion that ‘Alī delayed pledging his allegiance to Abū Bakr which was perceived to be an indication of ‘Alī’s dislike of Abū Bakr’s inauguration to the office of Caliphate. During this period ‘Alī remained in his house until Abū Bakr sent somebody to confront him, and when ‘Alī arrived in the presence of the Caliph, he played down the situation by mentioning his reason that he had taken an oath to not put his cloak on until he had collected the Qur’ān.

The *mutūn* of the first group of variants (Ar1 and H3) that came down through Ayyūb are very similar as they contain some of the same characteristics that we have pointed out, such as ‘Alī’s delay in pledging alliance to Abū Bakr and taking an oath to remain in isolation at home for the purpose of the collecting the Qur’ān, then being accused or at least questioned of political opposition, and expressing his fear that the Qur’ān may be distorted.

However, there are also some differences between the variants, for example ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version (Ar1) begins its narration with the event of Abū Bakr’s acceptance of allegiance, but al-Ḥaskānī’s version (H3) begins its narration with the event of the demise of the Prophet. The most significant difference, however, is that variant Ar1 narrates the conversation between ‘Alī and ‘Umar but variant H3 narrates the conversation between ‘Alī and Abu Bakr. In addition, Ar1 states that after the conversation, ‘Alī came out of the house and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, while H3 does not give any information on the result of the conversation. Nevertheless, both of them start with the same word, *lammā* and as we noted above show similar characteristics that also indicate interdependence between the traditions.

As for the *mutūn* of the variants that were reported through Ibn ‘Awn and Ayyūb, they also contain all the characteristics that we have mentioned above. There are only minor differences in the variants, such as their reference to the office of Abū Bakr. Also Ibn abī Shayba’s version (Ias1) uses the words ‘*Akrahta khilāfatī?*’ when it narrates that Abū Bakr confronted ‘Alī, but Ibn Sa‘d’s (IS1), al-Ḥaskānī’s (H3 and H4), and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s versions (I‘a1) use the words ‘*Akrahta imāratī?*’. And finally, al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī’s version uses neither word but instead just states ‘*Akrahta bay‘atī?*’

This is not a significant problem since Abū Bakr had just established the institution of Caliphate, thus it was normal for people to refer to it differently. The variants all look similar except some additions that seem to be inserted by Ibn Sīrīn referring to ‘Ikrima’s questioning regarding the fate of ‘Alī’s codex from which we understand that the codex was not made available to the public after the incident. In the remaining two variants, namely al-Ḥaskānī’s version (H5) and Ibn abī Dāwūd’s version, we observe the same similarities, albeit slightly more differences in their descriptions of the event.

The similarities in language and themes of all the variants including H3 indicate that the variants are all interdependent and coming from one source. The minor differences in language and length are the result of paraphrasing during the recording or reporting process. Among the four traditions in which Ibn ‘Awn transmits from Ibn Sīrīn only one version names ‘Ikrima as Ibn Sīrīn’s source, but expresses uncertainty about it (*fī-mā aḥsabū*). That means that Ibn ‘Awn’s original tradition about ‘Alī’s project shortly after the death of the Prophet derives from Ibn Sīrīn.

Ibn ‘Awn’s versions of the tradition contained, however, additions not found in the other transmissions of Ibn Sīrīn’s narration: Ibn Sīrīn asks ‘Ikrima questions about ‘Alī’s collection (Idb1, IS1, H4; in IS1 the question is ascribed to Ibn ‘Awn, but this

is probably due to a transmission error: Ibn ‘Awn’s informant, Ibn Sīrīn, has probably been dropped). The questions that Ibn Sīrīn asks ‘Ikrima in Ibn ‘Awn’s versions only show that ‘Ikrima knew about the existence of a Qur’ān collected by ‘Alī but obviously had not seen it and did not know where it could be found. Thus he did not know more than Ibn Sīrīn about this collection. The findings therefore enable us to trace the tradition back to Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110) but not any further. Consequently, we may say that these variants were in circulation during the first decade of the second century.

Concluding comments

In our analysis of the traditions attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, I had located ten traditions but analysed eight of them. The main problem that I encountered in the course of the *isnād* analysis was that some variants reached Ibn Sīrīn and some others reached ‘Ikrima, which initially gave the impression that Ibn Sīrīn’s source was ‘Ikrima but his name is not included in all the variants. However, at the end of the *isnād* and *matn* analysis, I concluded that Ibn Sīrīn is the source of the traditions and ‘Ikrima’s name was erroneously inserted into the three traditions (Ar1, Idb1 and Su1). Therefore, traditions can be traced back to Ibn Sīrīn’s date of death, 110.

In the *matn* analysis, I noted that the *mutūn* of the variants are certainly interdependent, which concurs with the finding of the *isnād* analysis. As a result, the study of traditions attributed Ibn Sīrīn provides the first decade of the second century as the earliest date to which the event of ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān can be traced. The date, as a matter of fact, is the earliest to which the collection of the Qur’ān can be dated through the study of Muslim traditions.

Further, the variants all give the account of ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān amid political tension. These traditions certainly depict more intense political tension than the previous variants as they mention a confrontation between ‘Alī and an aid of

Abū Bakr. The traditions allude to ‘Alī’s decision to remain in his house to collate the Qur’ān and, meanwhile, his delay in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr irritated Abū Bakr who sent an aid (possibly ‘Umar) to confront ‘Alī. Yet again, study of these traditions is not enough to reach a conclusion regarding the role that ‘Alī’s codex played in the political tension.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Ābān b. abī ‘Ayyāsh’s version:

In a 23 page long tradition that gives a detailed account of the political events and succession crisis just after the demise of the Prophet, Salmān al-Fārisī mentions the significance of the collection of the Qur’ān by ‘Alī:

Wa ‘an Ābān bin abī ‘Ayyāsh ‘an Sulaym bin Qays qāla sami‘tu Salmān al-Fārisī qāla: Lammā an qubiḍa al-Nabī (ṣ) ... falam mā ra‘ā ghadrahum wa-qillata wafā’ ihim lahu lazima baytahu wa-aqbala ‘alā al-Qur’ān yuallifuhu wa-yajma‘uhu falā yakhruj min baytihi ḥattā jama‘ahu wa-kāna fī al-Ṣuḥufi wa-al-shīẓāẓi wa-al-asyār wa-al-riqā‘ falam mā jama‘ahu kullahu wa-katabahu ‘alā tanzīlihi wa-al-nāsikh minhu wa-al-mansūkh ba‘ātha ilayhi Abū Bakr an akhruj fabāyi‘ faba‘atha ilayhi ‘Alī (‘a) innī lamashghūlun wa-qad ālaytu ‘alā nafsī yamīnan an lā artadī ridā’ an illā li al-ṣalāt ḥattā u‘allifa al-Qur’āna wa ajma‘ahu [fa sakatū ‘anhu ayyāman] fa jama‘ahu fī thawbin wāhidin wa-khatama thumma kharaja ilā al-nās wa-hum mujtami‘ūn ma‘a Abī Bakrin fī masjidī Rasūl Allāh (ṣ) fanādā ‘Alī (‘a) bi a‘lā ṣawtihi ya ayyuhā al-nās! Innī lam azal mundhu qubidha Rasūl Allāh (ṣ) masghūlan bi qhuslihi thumma bi al-Qur’āni ḥattā jama‘tuhu kullahu fī hadhā al-thawbī al-wāhid falam yunzili Allāhu alā Rasūl Allāh (ṣ) āyatan illā wa-qad jama‘tuhā wa-laysat minhu āyatun illā wa-qad aqra‘anīhā Rasūl Allāh (ṣ) wa-‘allamanī ta‘wīlahā thumma qāla lahum ‘Ālī (‘a) li-allā taqūlū yawma al-qiyyāmati innī lam ad‘ukum ilā nuṣratī wa-lam udhakkirkum ḥaqqī wa-lam ad‘ukum illā Kitābi Allāhi min fātiḥatihi ilā khātīmatīhi fa-qāla ‘Umar mā aghnānā min al-Qur’āni ‘ammā tad‘ūnā ilayhi thumma dakhala ‘Alī (‘a) ilā baytihi.⁸²⁰

Translation:

And Ābān bin abī ‘Ayyāsh from Sulaym bin Qays he said: I heard from Salmān al-Fārisī, he said: When the Messenger was taken... he [‘Alī] saw people’s treachery and lack of loyalty to him, [thus] he remained in his house

⁸²⁰ Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, vol. 2 (Qum: al-Hadi, 1984), 577.

and devoted himself to the compilation and the collection of the Qur'ān. He did not come out of his house until he had collected what was [written] on loose papers, sharpened wood, leaves or flattened hinged bone and pieces of paper until he collected all of it and wrote it down as it was revealed and [whatever was] abrogated from it and the abrogating [verses].

Abū Bakr sent for him asking for his allegiance and 'Alī (pbuh) replied "I am busy; I have taken an oath on me that I would not wear my robe except for the prayer until I have finished collecting and compiling the Qur'ān. He [eventually] collected it in a cloth and sealed it. He then set out for people who had been gathered in the presence of Abū Bakr at the Mosque of the Prophet. 'Alī (pbuh) called out in his loudest voice: 'O people!' I did not come out [of my house] since the messenger of God (pbuh) was taken; I have been busy with his burial and then with the Qur'ān until I have compiled all of it in this single cloth. God did not reveal a single verse to His messenger (pbuh) which I have not put together, there is not a single verse among them that I have not collated and there is not a single verse among them that the messenger of God did not read to me and teach me its interpretation (*ta'wīl*). Then 'Alī (pbuh) told them: Lest you say on the Day of Judgment that I did not call you to help me and did not remind you my right and did not call you to the Book of God from its beginning to its end. 'Umar replied: What we have from the Qur'ān is better than what you call us upon. Then 'Ali returned to his house...

The exact copy of the tradition was also quoted in Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ṭabarsī's *al-Iḥtijāj* '*alā Ahl al-Lijāj*,⁸²¹ however, the *sanad* does not include the name of 'Ayyāsh and instead directly gives the name of Sulaym b. Qays.

Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī contains a compilation of the sayings of the Imāms, which were apparently written by Sulaym b. Qays, an ardent supporter of 'Alī and follower of the subsequent four Imāms. The book is thought to be the oldest

⁸²¹ Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ṭabarsī, *Al-Iḥtijāj 'alā Ahl al-Lijāj*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Kharsan, vol. 1 (Mashad: Nashri Murtaḍā, 1982), 80.

surviving Shī'ite book, dating back to the first Islamic century. It has been reported that Sulaym bin Qays entrusted the book to his Persian student Ābān b. abī 'Ayyāsh, and he then made the book available.

However, there are controversies regarding the authenticity and identity of the author of the book. Modarressi provides a detailed study of the controversy and states that contrary to the general view that Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī was a Kūfī scholar and a disciple of 'Alī who later escaped from Umayyad persecution to Nawbandagān in Iran's southern province of Fārs and died in there in year 95, such a person never existed. The name is a pen name that was used to launch a political campaign against the Umayyad dynasty. He lists the names of all *rijāl* works that provide information about al-Hilālī and states that the information that was provided in these works about al-Hilālī was based on the introductory chapter of the book itself; hence there is no independent information to verify the identity of the author. In this regard, the first person to notice this was al-Ghaḍā'irī who concluded that the name al-Hilālī was not mentioned in any other early traditions and works, therefore he must have been an unknown person. This view was later supported some other scholars.⁸²² As for the book itself however, Modarressi maintains that this is

'the oldest surviving Shī'ite book and one of the rare examples of work surviving from the Umayyad period. The original core of the work, which is preserved to a great extent in the current version is definitely from the reign of Hīshām bin 'Abd Malik (105-125), almost certainly from the final years of his reign when the long established Umayyad hegemony was already under threat from troubles concerning his succession.'⁸²³

Modarressi also states that based on the information provided in the book it is obvious that the book was written in Kūfa as there was no noticeable Shī'ite presence elsewhere at the time. Modarressi suggests that through a text analysis it

⁸²² Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:82–83.

⁸²³ Ibid., 1:83.

is possible to identify the later additions to the book, one of which was the number of Imāms which was determined in the fourth century but still included in the book. The contributor who included this information made an error by stating ‘Alī’s name in addition to the Twelve Imāms, which increased the number of Imāms to 13. But Modarressi is confident that this is the result of a ‘careless slip’.⁸²⁴ There are some other unconventional traditions in the book regarding the Shī’ite faith that prompted some Shī’ite scholars to believe that the book was later tampered with.

Modarressi points out that the book states that al-Hilālī entrusted the book to Ābān b. abī ‘Ayyāsh and Ābān passed it to another person two months before his death. Based on the *rijāl* grading of Ābān, Modarressi along with some other Shī’ite scholars including Shaykh Mufīd, speculate that Ābān must have been responsible for the corrupt material that was incorporated in the book.⁸²⁵

Modarressi’s concern regarding the authenticity of the work remains strong and has been expressed by some other prominent Shī’ite scholars, yet it seems there is agreement among the scholars that the core of the book is sound and that the alteration took place in the form of later additions to the book (not exclusions). Therefore, the question is if the tradition at hand is part of the original core or a part of later addition. The tradition is a very long account of the events that took place immediately after the demise of the Prophet; it provides a vivid account of the succession crisis and the political struggle between the most prominent Companions of the Prophet, namely ‘Alī, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. It mentions how ‘Alī objected to Abū Bakr’s inauguration to the office of the Caliphate and in return they raided his house and physically assaulted ‘Alī and Fāṭima, which resulted in an injury to Fāṭima that lead to her death, and finally after Fāṭima’s demise, ‘Alī was capitulated into swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr.

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 1:84.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 1:85–86.

This is surely a political tradition and it is difficult to verify if it is from the original part of the book or a later addition. But certain parts of it do not seem to be realistic and seem to be designed to rationalise ‘Alī’s paying allegiance to Abū Bakr. It also contradicts with other accounts of the event. For example, the tradition suggests that ‘Alī was physically submitted into pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr in a place wherein ‘Umar and some other Companions of the Prophet were present. It states that people restrained ‘Alī and by force, opened his hands and then Abū Bakr forcefully obtained his allegiance.

However, the account was given differently in al-Ṭabarī’s work, according to which ‘Alī asked Abū Bakr to come for a meeting and Abū Bakr, against the advice of ‘Umar, went to the meeting. In this meeting, ‘Alī without force pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr⁸²⁶ and the matter was ostensibly resolved. One may disregard both traditions as they seemingly present Shī’ite and Sunnī perspectives on the issue, thus rendering them unreliable.

Nevertheless, even for many Shī’ites it would not make sense to believe that the most decorated warrior of Islam could be subdued physically, without killing or injuring many assailants before forcefully restraining him. Also if this was the case, since it took place under duress there was no religious, political or social obligation for him to honour his allegiance.

Therefore, we may say that at least parts of the tradition have been included later on to make sense of ‘Alī’s allegiance to Abū Bakr as some believed it should not have happened in the first place. But it seems it is more plausible to think that upon the demise of Fāṭima ‘Alī realised the futility of remaining an implicit opponent of Abū Bakr and for the sake of the Muslim community decided to pay allegiance to Abū Bakr in a peaceful manner.

⁸²⁶ Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 52–53.

Having said that, although the tradition is very long and it is possible that some parts of it were added later on, there is no indication that the part that mentions ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān was invented and thus it could be considered to be part of the original book. If this is the case, the tradition could be traced back to al-Hilālī and his date of death, year 95. However, if it was a later addition then the culprit is Ābān who died in year 138.⁸²⁷ Did Ābān invent the tradition? If we did not have access to the other variants, one may have accepted that Ābān invented the tradition, yet we have many other variants that refute the possibility that the tradition was a fabrication. Rather it seems rather that Ābān came across the tradition not from the chain he provides in the book; Salmān al-Fārisī > Sulaym b. Qays > Ābān but some other disseminator(s) who was active in Kūfa at the time, and included it in the book. The matn of the tradition confirms this as it is very similar to the other variants that we have treated previously, with very little additional information. The whole narration seems to contain the basic information displayed in the traditions of Ibn Sīrīn.

In either case, we may say that at least one of the traditions that mention the collection of the Qur’ān was recorded in a book during the first half of the second century.

Some other traditions that we could not fit into any other group are mentioned below:

2. Ibn Shahrāshūb’s version 2 (IS2):

Wa fī akhbār bin abī Rāfi‘ anna al-Nabī qāla fī maraḍihi alladhī tawaffā fīhi li
‘Alī: Yā ‘Alī hadhā Kitāb Allāh khudhu ilayka. Fa jama‘ahu
‘Alī fī thawbī famaḍā ilā manzilihi falammā qubida al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi

⁸²⁷ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 1:86.

wa-ālihi jalasa ‘Alī (‘a) fa-allafahu kamā anzalahu Allāh wa-kāna bihi
‘āliman.⁸²⁸

Translation:

According to the narration of Ibn abī Rāfi‘, during the course of his illness which eventually led to his demise, the Prophet said to ‘Alī: “O ‘Alī! This is the book of Allah; take it with you!” ‘Alī then collected it in his garment and went to his house. When the Prophet passed away, ‘Alī stayed (at home) and compiled the Qur’ān as it was revealed and whatever he knew about it.

3. Ibn Shahrāshūb’s version 3 (IS3):

Dhakara al-Shirāzī fī Nuzul al-Qur’ān wa-abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb fī tafsīrihi ‘an b. ‘Abbās... qāla b. ‘Abbās: Fajama ‘a Allāh al-Qur’āna fī qalbī ‘Alī wa-jama ‘ahu ‘Alī ba‘da mawt Rasūl Allāh bisittati ashūr.⁸²⁹

Translation:

Al-Shirāzī in his *Nuzul al-Qur’ān* and Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb in his *Tafsīr* mentioned that Ibn ‘Abbās said: ‘Allāh collected the Qur’ān in the heart of ‘Alī and he (‘Alī) collected it after the death of the Messenger of Allah in six months.’

4. Al-Ya‘qūbī’s version:

Wa-rawā ba‘ḍuhum ‘an ‘Alī bin abī Ṭālib, lamma qubiḍa Rasūl Allāh kāna jama ‘ahu wa atā bihi yaḥmiluhu ‘alā jamal, fa qāla: Hadhā al-Qur’ān qad jama ‘tuhu wa-kāna qad juz’ahu sab‘ata ajzā’ ...⁸³⁰

Translation:

It has been narrated by some of them: When the messenger of God was taken ‘Alī bin abī Ṭālib collated it [the Qur’ān], and he took it [to people]

⁸²⁸ Ibn abī Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:319.

⁸²⁹ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:319.

⁸³⁰ Aḥmad b. abī Ya‘qūb b. Ja‘far, *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*, vol. 2 (Qum: Muassasa va Nashri Farhangi Ahl al-Bayt, No date), 135.

carrying it on a camel, and said: "This the is the Qur'ān, I have indeed collated it" it was divided into seven chapters...

But since we could not include them into any group it is impossible to analyse them.

CONCLUSION

In our quest to study traditions regarding ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collection of the Qur’ān I have, in total, examined 27 traditions. Out of these 27 traditions, seven variants were attributed to Abū Ja‘far, six to ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib himself, four to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and ten variants were attributed to Ibn Sīrīn. Some of the traditions were recorded in the earliest Shī‘ite sources, namely al-Ṣaffār’s *Baṣā’ir al-Darajāt*, al-Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī*, ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī’s *Tafsīr al-Qummī* and Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, which were written in the third and fourth centuries. The remaining traditions were recorded in Sunnī sources written between the third and sixth centuries. These include ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*, Ibn abī Shayba’s *Muṣannaf*, Muḥammad b. Sa‘d’s *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Ibn abī Dāwūd’s *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, Aḥmad b. Fāris’s *al-Ṣaḥīb fī al-Fiqh*, al-Ḥaskānī’s *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, al-Khawārizmī’s *al-Manāqib*, Abū Nu‘aym’s *Hilyat al-Awliyā’*, Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Manāqib Āl abī Ṭālib*, al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī’s *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣḥāb*. We could not, however, find any variants in the six canonical Sunnī *ḥadīth* works.

In addition to the 27 traditions, I have located four more traditions on the issue but could not fit them into any of the groups we have studied. Therefore, I decided to not to examine them excluding the tradition that was recorded in Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī’s *Kitāb*. Since the book was thought to be written in a very early period (first and second centuries) I thought it is important to analyse the tradition recorded in the book. Thus, in total we end up with 31 traditions regarding ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collection of the Qur’ān. This number is close to the number of variants that Motzki treated in his study of Sunnī traditions on the collection of the Qur’ān. He gathered 29 traditions that are about Abū Bakr’s collection of the Qur’ān and 22 traditions about ‘Uthmān’s collection of the Qur’ān, which all intersected at al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742).

In the examination of the traditions S1, S2 and K1, which were attributed to Abū Ja‘far, I found that we could initially trace the variants back to Ibn abī al-Khaṭṭab’s

sources Muḥammad b. Sinān (d.220) and al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb (d.210). Further, with the combined help of *isnād* and *matn* analysis I managed to trace the traditions back to Abū Ja‘far and his date of death 114. This was largely as a result of my understanding that despite the nuances in the versions, the text structures seem to be the same for all of them, as in all of them the statement starts with the expression *Mā yastaṭī‘u aḥadun*. Also, they all contain the expression *ghayru al-awṣiyā’* and some other similar words; thus we have come to the conclusion that the versions are interdependent and must come from a common source. At this stage I have discovered that until the chains of narration reach Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Bāqir there is no intersection point for the versions. Therefore, I have concluded that Abū Ja‘far must have been the source for these traditions.

During the course of *matn* analysis of the traditions I have also discussed the meaning of the word *jamī‘* regarding whether it was used to refer to the true and definitive understanding of the Qur’ān or the act of the collation of the Qur’ān. The reading of the texts (S1, S2 and K1) initially gave the meaning of the true and definitive understanding of the Qur’ān. Especially the wording in K1, *‘indahū jamī‘a al-Qur’ān*, reinforced this view as it was apparent that the subject matter of the discussion was the true and definitive understanding of the Qur’ān.

However, at the end of the *matn* analysis, I reached the conclusion that the *matn* of K1 contains transmission errors due to the use of *Jamī‘u al-Qur’ān kulluhu* which is a doubling; *Jamī‘u al-Qur’ān* and *al-Qur’ān kulluhu* mean the same and this could be explained by possible transmission errors. This might have taken form in that a copyist wrote *jamī‘* instead of *jama‘a* or read it from the manuscript he was copying, because the word was not well legible and he (or a later copyist) inserted *‘inda* in order to make the sentence more comprehensible. It may also be possible that someone deliberately changed the original wording by placing the word *‘inda* between *anna* and *hu* and changing *jama‘a* to *jamī‘*. In any case, I reached the conclusion that version K1 seems to be corrupt.

As for the second group of traditions (S3 and K2), I have also detected a possible corruption in the text with the inclusion of a harsh statement against those who 'claim' that they have collected the Qur'ān, accusing them of being great liars (*kaddhābun*). I identified 'Amr b. abī al-Miqdām as the possible culprit for the corruption due to his anti-Caliph campaign, especially his strong dislike for 'Uthmān. At this point we have stated that the similarities between the texts of S1, S2 and K1 strengthened our earlier conclusion that the traditions are interdependent and can be dated back to Abū Ja'far and his date of death, 114.

Upon examination of the last two variants (Q1 and S4) it became clear that the meaning of the word *jam'* is used to refer to the true and definite understanding of the Qur'ān. This is due to the fact that the *mutūn* of K1, S1, S2 and S4 mention only *al-awṣiyā'*. According to the *asānīd*, these texts go back to three different transmitters from Abū Ja'far ('Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāzī, Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī and Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī). This seems to be the original version of Abū Ja'far's statement, wherein the words *jama'a al-Qur'ān kullahu ṣāhirahu wa-bāṭinahu ghayru al-awṣiyā'* seem not to indicate that a collection comparable to that accomplished by Zayd b. Thābit, but rather a complete knowledge of the text and its correct understanding.

In K2 and S3 of the Abū Ja'far complex, 'Alī is added to *al-awṣiyā'* and in Q1 *al-awṣiyā'* is even replaced by *waṣī Muḥammad*, i.e. 'Alī. These changes must be ascribed to one of the transmitters after Jābir b. Yazīd in the case of S3 and K2, and to one of the transmitters after Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl in Q1 who tried to give 'Alī the priority among *al-awṣiyā'* in the 'collection' (perhaps here the word is already intended in its literal meaning) and preservation of the Qur'ān. But this was probably not the original statement of Abū Ja'far.

This tendency to give priority to 'Alī continues in the traditions ascribed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (Diagram 5), which contain varying texts, and in the tradition of al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī (Diagram 4) who ascribed it via al-Suddī and 'Abd Khayr to 'Alī

himself. That means that in the purely Shī'ī traditions 'Alī gains the priority of collecting and preserving the Qur'ān only in the generation after Abū Ja'far or even later. The model for it was probably the tradition of Ibn Sīrīn. Thus, even if the original versions do not speak of or intend a collection of the Qur'ān, the traditions ascribed to Abū Ja'far are crucial in understanding the history of the development of the Shī'ī traditions concerning the collection of the Qur'ān. Therefore, they must not be neglected even if 'Alī was originally not mentioned in Abū Ja'far's statement.

I have found six traditions attributed to 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib (In1, Ha1, Nu1, Kha1, Ha2 and Ah1). These traditions were reported in both Sunnī and Shī'ite sources; Aḥmad b. Fāris's *al-Ṣāḥib fī al-Fiqh*, Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, al-Ḥaskānī's *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, al-Khawārizmī's *al-Manāqib* and Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*. The *matn* of the variants suggest that the event of the collection of the Qur'ān took place amid political tension between the supporters of the first Caliph Abū Bakr and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The traditions state that upon the demise of the Prophet, 'Alī realised that he would not be accepted as the leader of the Muslims and decided to stay away from possible political turmoil by remaining in his house for a very rewarding purpose for which no one could blame him: the collection of the Qur'ān.

The *isnād* analysis identified al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr al-Sadūsī as the common link for the traditions and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. abī Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn as the pcls. I have also noted that al-Suddī might have been the source of Zuhayr al-Sadūsī; if this was the case it may be possible to trace these traditions back to al-Suddī's date of death, 127. But it is not certain that the tradition goes back to al-Suddī. The fact that al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr has received such negative judgements by the *ḥadīth* critics (at least the Sunnī ones) could also be an indication that he invented the tradition himself. In this case, I may only be able to trace the traditions back to al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr's date of scholarly activity (he died in 180). The traditions (Is1, Q2, S4, K3) that were attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq were recorded in four books: *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, al-Ṣaffār's *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī* and *Manāqib Āl abī Ṭālib*.

The *Isnād* map reveals that Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is the common link for these traditions. The variants apparently come down through two single strands directly from the sixth Imām. The strand that goes through Sālim b. abī Salama breaks up into two after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. abī Khaṭṭāb, thus making him a partial common link. He was also a pcl for the traditions attributed to Abū Ja‘far. On the other hand, the strand that goes through Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī arrives at Ibrāhīm al-Qummī through a single strand.

The *Isnād* analysis initially gave the impression that I may be able to trace the traditions to the year 148/765. However, the *matn* analysis suggested that dating the four traditions attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is problematic; there are only two single strands that reach him, and in addition, the *mutūn* of the two transmission lines differ heavily and have only two points of congruity. According to the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, only these two congruent textual elements can perhaps be ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, but one of them is also found in the tradition of Ibn Sīrīn and may be adopted from it. Because Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq belongs to the generation after Ibn Sīrīn, Abū Ja‘far and al-Suddī, it is possible or even probable that the traditions ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq developed later than the others.

I have located ten traditions (Ar1, H3, Idb1, Ias1, Is1, Ia1, Ha4, H5, Iad1, Su1) that were attributed to Ibn Sīrīn. They are all reported in Sunnī sources: ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*, Ibn abī Shayba’s *Muṣannaf*, Ibn Sa‘d’s *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣḥāb*, al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī’s *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Itqān* and Ibn abī Dāwūd’s *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*.

The variants show the political tension after the demise of the Prophet and that the project of collection of the Qur’ān played a role in this tension. All the variants contain the notion that ‘Alī delayed pledging his allegiance to Abū Bakr, which was perceived to be an indication of ‘Alī’s dislike of Abū Bakr’s inauguration to the office of Caliphate. During this period ‘Alī remained in his house until Abū Bakr sent

somebody to confront him, and when ‘Alī arrived in the presence of the Caliph, he played down the situation by mentioning his reason that he had taken an oath to not put his cloak on until he had collected the Qur’ān.

At first sight, the *asānīd* of the traditions give the impression that ‘Ikrima may be the source of the traditions, as it appears that versions Ar1, Idb1 and Su1 end with ‘Ikrima. However, I ruled out this possibility on the ground that out of three variants that end with ‘Ikrima, two variants (Idb1 and Su1) are interdependent. On the other hand, seven traditions end with Ibn Sīrīn (H3, Ias1, IS1, H4, I‘a1, H5, Iad1). Therefore, I reached the conclusion that originally all these traditions end with Ibn Sīrīn and that ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *isnād* (Ar1) must contain an error. Ibn Sīrīn died in 110 so this group of traditions can successfully be traced back to the first decade of the second century.

The study of all the variants resulted in the conclusion that with the help of the traditions attributed to Abū Ja‘far and Ibn Sīrīn, the narrative on ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib’s collection of the Qur’ān can be dated back to as early as the first decade of the second century. The analysis of the traditions mentioning ‘Alī among the versions attributed to Abū Ja‘far, as well as the traditions whose *asānīd* end with ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib gave a later result, three or more generations after Abū Ja‘far in the former case and probably the date of al-Ḥakam b. Zuhayr’s scholarly activity (d. 180) in the latter. Regarding the traditions that are attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, I concluded that dating these traditions is problematic and perhaps only a few elements in the texts can be ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Finally, in the analysis of the tradition recorded in *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, I found that the traditions regarding ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān were not only transmitted orally but also recorded in written form in one of the earliest Shī‘ite works, within the first half of the second century.

The finding regarding ‘Alī’s collection of the Qur’ān concurs with Motzki’s finding⁸³¹ that the traditions regarding Abū Bakr and ‘Uthmān’s (‘Umar was also involved in this project) collection of the Qur’ān can be traced back to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124). Both studies confirm that the issue of the correct Qur’ān as well as the collection of the Qur’ān was a hotly discussed topic at the turn of the first Islamic century at the latest. The fact that the dissemination of these traditions took place through both Sunnī and Shī’ite transmission lines further strengthens the findings as despite their political and to a certain extent religious differences, the two groups agree that a unified format of the Qur’ān existed in such an early period. The only area of dispute concerning the history of the text of the Qur’ān, which remains between them to this day, is the identity of its first compiler.

⁸³¹ Harald Motzki, “The Collection of the Qur’ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Development.”

APPENDIX

Asānīd that included Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn in *al-Kāfi*

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh	‘Īsā b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Umarī	Abū ‘Abdallāh (Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq)					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Abū ‘Umayr	Ibn Uzayna	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Wa-‘anhu	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Sinān	Dāwud b. Farqadin	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Wa-‘anhu	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Maḥbūb	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	Dāwud b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Umar b. Ḥanzala	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. Baqqāḥ	Sayf b. ‘Amīrah	Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad	Aḥmad b.	Ibn Maḥbūb	Ḥammād b.	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad ‘Īsā and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn		‘Amr and al- Naṣībī						
Muḥammad b. Abū ‘Abdallāh	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan	Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ	al-Ḥasan b. Sa‘īd	Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Khazzāz and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Abū ‘Umayr	Hisām b. Sālim	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far (Muḥammad al-Bāqir)				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	al-Kāhilī						
Wa ‘anhu	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al- Ḥajjāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥamza	Faṭḥ b. ‘Abdallāh Mawlā Banī Hāshim	Abū Ibrāhīm						

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	‘Ammihi Ḥamzah b. Bazi‘	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Hassān al Jammāli	Hāshim b. abi ‘Umārah al-Janbī	Amīr al-Mu'minīn (‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib)				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	‘Ammihi Ḥamzah b. Bazi‘	‘Alī b. Suwayd	Abi al-Ḥasan Mūsā b. Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abū Shu‘ayb al-Maḥāmīlī	Durust b. Abū Manṣūr	Burayd b. Mu‘āwiya	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
‘Alī b. Muḥammad	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ishāq b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Abū al-Safātij	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far				
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. Ḥasān	Ibn Faḍḍāl	Alī b. Ya‘qūb al-Hāshimī	Marwān b. Muslim	Burayd	Abū Ja‘far and Abū ‘Abdallāh		

‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saghīr (‘amman ḥaddathahu)	Rib‘ī b. ‘Abdallāh	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	al-‘Alā‘ī b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl	Abū Ḥamza	Abū Ja‘far				
Aḥmad b. Idrīs	Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubaydallāh	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. ‘Umar	al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl	Abū al-Ḥasan			
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Sa‘dī b. Ṭarīf	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl	Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī	Abū Ja‘far	The Prophet			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Abd al-Qaḥḥār	Jā‘bir al-Jū‘fi	Abū Ja‘far	The Prophet		

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Abū Bakr al-Ḥaḍramī	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd Shaghar	Ḥārūn b. Ḥamza	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Ṭalḥa b. Zayd	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Aslam	Ibrāhīm b. Ayyūb	‘Amr b. Shimir	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far			
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad	al-Khasshāb	Ḥaddathnā ba‘ḍu aṣḥab	Khaythama	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Ammār b. Marwān	al-Munakkhal	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā	Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Mu‘mīn	‘Abd al-A‘lā mawlā Āl Sām	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	Abū Sa‘īd Khorāsānī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	Abū al-Ḥusayn	Abū Baṣīr	Abū Ja‘far				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Abū Ismā‘īl al-Sarrāj	Bashīr b. Ja‘far	Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ibn Muskān	Ḥujr	Ḥumrān	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riḍā	Abū Ja‘far					
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Aḥmar	‘Abdallāh b. Ḥammād	Sayf al-Tammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	Asbāṭ b. Sālim	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	al-Ḥusayn b. Abū al-‘Alā‘i	Sa‘d al-Isqāf	Amīr al-Mu‘minīn				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	‘Ubayd b. Zurārah and Jamā‘ati Ma‘ahu	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	Ba‘ḍi aṣḥābihi	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Maḥbūb	al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Ya‘fūr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kinānī	Jaʿfar b. Najīh al-Kindī	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUbaydallāh al-ʿUmarī	Abūhi	Jaddihi	Abū ʿAbdallāh
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd Shaʿar	Ḥārūn b. Ḥamzah	ʿAbd al-Aʿlā	Abū ʿAbdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	ʿAbd al- Raḥman b. Abū Najrān	Sulayman b. Jaʿfar al- Jaʿfarī	Ḥammād b. ʿIsā	Abū ʿAbdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Abū Najrān	ʿIsā b. ʿAbd Allāh al- -ʿUmar b. ʿAlī Abū Ṭālib	Abū ʿAbdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamīʿān)	Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Bazīʿ	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Abū Jārūd	Abū Jaʿfar				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Zayd b. al- Jahm al-Hilālī	Abū ʿAbdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Ibn Maḥbūb	Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl	Abū Ḥamza al- Thumālī	Abū Jaʿfar			

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and ghayruhu	Sahl	Muḥammad b. 'Īsā	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (jamī'ān)	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ismā'īl b. Jābir and 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Amr	'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Abū al-Daylam	Abū 'Abdal lāh	
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Abū al-Jārūd	Abū Ja'far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	'Imrān b. Mūsā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allān b. Zurarah	'Īsā b. 'Abdallāh	Abūhi	Jaddihi	'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn		
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	'Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Najrān	'Īsā b. Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib	Abū 'Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja'far b. Bashīr	Fuḍayl	Ṭāhir	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	Ibn Ri'āb	Abū 'Abdallāh					
'Alī b. Ibrāhīm	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Abū Najrān	Faḍālat b. Ayyūb	Sadīr al-Ṣayrafī	Abū 'Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Maḥbūb	Ishāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ṭalḥa b. Zayd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yahyā	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Riḍā						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan	al-Mukhtār b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. Sulayman	Abūhi	Abū Başir (mithlahu)		
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Aslam	‘Alī b. Abū Ḥamza	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-Bilād	Sadīr al-Şayrafī	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Ammār b. Marwān	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far				

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Manṣūr b. al-‘Abbās	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abdallāh b. Muskān	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq and Abū Baṣīr	Abū Muḥammad			
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Abū Ḥamza	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	Ishāq b. ‘Ammār	X	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	Khālīd b. Mād	Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl	Al-Thumālī	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Şāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Şāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abū Sa‘īd al-‘Uṣfūrī	‘Amr b. Thābit	Abū Ḥamzah	‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mas‘adah b. Ziyād	Abū ‘Abdallāh						
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibrāhīm b. Abū Yaḥyā al-Madīnī	Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī	Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī	‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Maḥbūb	Abū al-Jārūd	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abū Sa‘īd al-‘Uṣfūrī	‘Amr b. Thābit	Abū al-Jārūd	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Muḥammad b. ‘Alī	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	‘Abd al- Ghaffār al- Jāzī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Šāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī	‘Uqba (Jamī‘ān)	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Imrān al- Za‘farānī	Muḥammad b. Marwān	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Amr b. Abū al-Miqdām	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥasan b. Ribāt	Ba’dī rijālihi	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Rahman b. Muḥammad	Sālīm b. Mukram	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

		al-Asadī							
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aba Ja‘far				
Abū ‘Alī al-Ash‘arī	al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan	Muḥammad b. Awrama	Ba‘ḍi aṣḥābihi	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl	Abū Ḥumzah	Abū Ja‘far		
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju‘fī	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abū al-Khaṭṭab	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Abū Shibl	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Rifā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	al-Mufaḍḍal	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Ammār	Nājiyah	Abū Ja‘far				
Abū ‘Alī al- Ash‘arī	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al- Jabbār	Ibn Faḍḍāl	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Kathīr al- Khazzāz	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Dāwud b. Sirhān	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Anhu	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	Abūn b. ‘Uthmān	Al-Fuḍayl b. Yasār	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Abū ‘Umayr	Mithlahu					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Nu‘mān	‘Abdallāh b. Ṭalha al- Nahdī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Naḍr b. Sa‘īd	Khālīd b. Mād al-	Abū Ḥamza al- Thumālī	Abū Ja‘far				

			Qalānisī						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Nu‘mān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Ḥusayn b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Nu‘mān	‘Abdallāh b. Ṭalha	Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim abi Salama	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Ammār b. Mūsā	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Rafa‘ahu	Abū ‘Abdallāh						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abū Dāwud al-Munshid	Yūnus	Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	al-Fuḍayl b. Shādhān (Jamī‘an)	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥya	Mansūr b. Ḥāzim	Anbasata	Abū ‘Abdallāh		
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	al-‘Alā‘I b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Ibrāhīm al-Karkhī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad	Muḥammad	Ibn Faḍḍāl	Ghālīb b.	Rawḥ b. ‘Abd	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

b. Yaḥyā	b. al-Ḥusayn		‘Uthmān	al-Raḥīm					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq	Hārūn b. Ḥamza	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	Muḥammad b. Marwān	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	al-Faḍl b. Shādhān	Şafwān b. Yaḥya	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Manşūr b.	Ḥazim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Faḍl b. Shādhān (Jamī‘ān)	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā		
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ḥammād	Bakr b. Karib	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad	Muḥammad	‘Alī b. al-	Abū al-A‘az	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

b. Yahyā	b. al-Ḥusayn	Ḥakam	al-Nakhhās						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al-Kāhilī	—					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja‘far b. Bashīr	‘Amman Rawāh	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Wuhayb b.	Ḥafṣ	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Sama‘āh	X					
Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Al-Fuḍayl b. Shādhān	Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al- Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan			
Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Al-Fuḍayl b. Shādhān	Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al- Ḥajjāj	Abū Ibrāhīm			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Mu‘āwiyah b. ‘Ammār	Nājiyah	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	Muḥammad b. Marwān	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim abi Salama	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	al-X				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa	Abū Bakr b. ‘Īsā Aḥmad al-‘Alawī	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Mihrān b. Muḥammad	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Aḥmad b. Idrīs and ghayruhu	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abūhi	Manṣūr b. Ḥāzim or ghayrihu	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm al-Bajalī	Sālim Abū Khādījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Sama‘āh	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Sama‘āh	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja‘far b. Bashīr	Ḥammād b. ‘Uthmān	Idrīs ‘Abdallāh al-Qummī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Abū Hārūn al-Makfūf	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Abū Najrān	Ṣafwān al-Jammāl	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ibn Bukayr	Zurārah	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Abū Hārūn al-Makfūf	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Maḥbūb	Ibn Ri'āb	al-ḤalAbū	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja 'far b. Bashīr	Ḥammād b.	Hishām	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb	Abū Ja 'far al-Ahwalī	Abū 'Ubaydah al-Ḥazzā 'i	Abū Ja 'far			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ba 'ḍi Ashāb.ā	Abū al-Ḥasan						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā 'īl b. Bazī'	al-Khaybarī	al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayrī	Abū Salama al-Sarrāj	Abū 'Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā 'īl b. Bazī'	Ṣāliḥ b. 'Uqba	Abū Hārūn al-Makfūf	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā 'īl	Fuḍayl b. Shādhān (Jamī 'ān)	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	'Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū 'Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al- 'Alā'i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja 'far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	'Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan					

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Abū Bakr al-Ḥudramī	Abū Ja‘far and Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā	Samā‘ah	X				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	al-Fuḍayl b. Shādhān (Jamī‘an)	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Anhu	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā	Samā‘ah	X				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā	Samā‘ah	X					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā	Samā‘ah	Abū Baṣīr	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Nu‘mān	‘Amr b. Yazīd						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	Manṣūr b. Ḥāzim	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Saʿdān	ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ʿAbdallāh					
Rib ʿī	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā	Samāʿah Jamīʿān	Abū ʿAbdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (jamīʿān)	ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā	Samāʿah	Abū ʿAbdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā	Samāʿah	Abū ʿAbdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Khazzāz	Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth	Jaʿfar	Abūhi				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Manṣūr b. Ḥāzim	Abū ʿAbdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā	Samāʿah	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ʿAbdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Khazzāz	Baʿḍi aṣḥābihi	Abū ʿAbdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-ʿAlāʾi b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ʿAbdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al-ʿĪṣ b. al-Qāsim	Abū ʿAbdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Dharīḥ	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya ‘qūb b. Shu ‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah al-Ghanawī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Ḥanān	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Abū ‘Umayr	Ismā‘īl b. Abū Sārah	Abūn b. Taghlib	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Wa anhu	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥajjāl	‘Abdallāh b. al-Walīd al-Kindī	Ismā‘īl b. Jābir or Abd Allāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	X				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabūb	Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riḍā						

Wa bi Hazā al-isnād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	‘ Abdallāh b. ‘ Alī al- Sarrād	Abū ‘ Abdallāh					
‘ Anhu	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al- ‘ Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘ Alī b. Asbāt	Muḥammad b. ‘ Alī b. Abū ‘ Abdallāh	Abū al-Ḥusayn					
‘ Alī b. Muḥammad	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ba’dī al- Ṭālibiyyīn Yulaqqabu bi ra’si al- madarī	Al-Riḍā					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ba ‘ ḍi aşḥābihi	Abū ‘ Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā ‘ il b. Bazī’	Abū Ismā ‘ il Sārah	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al- ‘ Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al- ‘ Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja ‘ far				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Zayd al-Ṣā’igh	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ibn Muskān	Muḥammad al-ḤalAbū	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Fuḍayl	Abū al- Ḥasan						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Abū al- Maghrā’i	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Faḍl b. Shādhān	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al- Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (Jamī‘ān)	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al- Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan			

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Abū al-Ḥasan al-Reḍā						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Tha‘labah b. Maynūn	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Khath‘mī	Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	X				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Sinān	Ḥuḏayfah b. Maṣṣūr	Muāḏ b. Kathīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Ubays b. Hishām	Al-Khaḍr b. ‘Abd al-Malik	Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm	Abū al-Ḥasan				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Mūsā b. Bakr	Zurārah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	aḥadihimā					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Ṣāliḥ b. Uqba	Uqba	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Abūn	‘Abd al-Malik	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. Uqba	Jamīl b. Darrāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā and ‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Faḍḍāl	Abū Jamīlah	Rifā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Fuḍayl al-Baṣrī	Abū al-Ḥasan							
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al- ‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yaḥyā b. ‘Amr and Khalifah al-Zayyāt	‘Abdallāh b. Bukayr	Ba ‘ḍi aşhābihi	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān al- ‘Ijlī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Abū ‘Abdallāh	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Amr and Ismā‘īl b. Jabir	‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Abū al-Daylam	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Shu‘ayb al-‘Aqarqūfī	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam and Şafwān	Al- ‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	Yūnus b. ‘Imrān b. Maytham	Samā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Nu‘mān	Suwayd al- Qallā‘i	Ayyūb	Burayd al-‘Ijlī	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b.	Abū ‘Abdallāh al- Mu‘min	Ibn Muskān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Abū al- Maghrā‘i	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘Abdallāh b. Jabalah	Iṣḥāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ḥammād b. Īsā	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘Abdallāh b. Jabalah	Iṣḥāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Ba‘ḍi aṣḥāb.ā	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Samā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	al-Ḥārith b. Mughīrah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. ‘‘Uqba	Abūhi ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Al-Ḥusayn b. Mukhtār Mithlahu	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā‘I b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā‘I b. Razīn	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā‘I b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Za‘lān	Al-Ḥusayn b. Basshār	Hishām b. al-Muthannā and Ḥannān	X				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan	Ṣalih b. al-Aswād	Abū al Jārūd	Abū Ja‘far				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Aslam	Yūnus	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Aslam	Yūnus b. Ya‘qūb	Amman Ḥaddathahu	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Sulayman b. Muḥammad	Ḥarīz	Zurārah	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī	Ṣalīh b. al- Aswād	Abū al-Jārūd	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	‘Amr b. Abū al-Miqdām	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād (Jamī‘ān)	Ibn Abū Naṣr	Samā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm al-Bajalī	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥman b. ‘Abdallāh al-Karkhī	Reḍā						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yahyā	al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā (‘amman ḥaddathahu)	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Wuhayb b. Ḥafş	Abū Başīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Al-Ḥusayn b. Muslim	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Ammār b. Marwān	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yahyā	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	X				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Ḥajjāl	‘Abd al-Şamad b.	Ḥassān al-Jammāl	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

			Bashīr						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Zayd al-Shaḥḥām	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Bashīr al-Dahhān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Abū Sa‘īd al-Madā‘inī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Muḥammad b. Şadaqah	Şālih al-Nīlī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Umar b. Abūn al-Kalbī	Abūn b. Taghlib	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Al-Khaybarī	Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad	Abū al-Hasan				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Al-Khaybarī	Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Qummī	al-Reḍa				
‘Iddatu min	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad	Muḥammad	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Zayd al-	Abū ‘Abdallāh			

Aṣḥāb.ā		b. al-Ḥusayn	b. Ismā‘īl		Shahḥām				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ishāq b. Jarīr	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
‘Alī	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ḥuḏayfah b. Manṣūr	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Nu‘mān	Suwayd al- Qallā‘i	Bashīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm	Abūhi	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	‘Uthmān b. ‘Īsā	Samā‘ah	Ahadihimā			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Nu‘mān	Suwayd al- Qallā‘i	Samā‘ah	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al- Aḥmar	‘Abdallāh b. Ḥammād al- Anṣārī	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū al-Ḥasan al-Aḥmasī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sulaymān	Abū Muḥammad	al-Reḏā					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	‘Abd al- Ghaffār al- Jāzī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	Al-Ḥusayn b. Abū al-‘Alā’i	Ishāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū al-Ḥasan				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim b. Mukram	Sa‘ad al-Iskāf	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Abū al-Jārūd	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Zubyān b. Ḥakīm al- Awdī	‘Alī b. Abū al-Mugyīrah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Şāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Sulaymān b. Şāliḥ	Abū Shibl	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Ishāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Işhāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū al-‘Attār	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān b. Yaḥyā	Abū Sa‘īd al-Mukārī	‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Amr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Ibn Muskān	Işhāq al- Madā’inī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	al-Faḍl b. Shādhān	Şafwān	al-‘Iyş b. al- Qāsim	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad	Muḥammad	Şafwān	Ya‘qūb b.	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

b. Yahyā	b. al-Ḥusayn		Shu‘ayb						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Abū Sa‘īd	‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Amr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ayyūb b. Rāshīd	Muyassir Bayyā‘ al- Zuṭṭī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Shu‘ayb al- Ḥaddād	Bashhār b. Yasār	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Manṣūr b. Ḥāzm	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	X					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ibn Bukayr	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ishāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū Ibrāhīm					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al- Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Mūsā b. Bakr	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ibn Bukayr	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Iṣḥāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Iṣḥāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘ ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq Sh ‘r	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah al- Ghanawī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	al-‘Alā’i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja ‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq Sh ‘r	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah al- Ghanawī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘ ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘ ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘ ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	The Prophet					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘ ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘ ‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq Sh ‘r	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa ‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq Sh ‘r	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Ba ‘du Aṣḥāb.ā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Zarīf al-Akfānī	X					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Āsim b. Ḥumayd	Abū Baṣīr	Abū Ja ‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā ‘īl b. Bazī’	al-Khaybarī	al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayrī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Abū al-Ḥasan						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al- ‘Āsimī	‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl	al- ‘Abbās b. ‘Āmir	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	Shu ‘āyb al-Aqarqūfī	Abū ‘Abdal lāh	

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	al-‘Alā‘I b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Aḥadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Manṣūr Buzurj	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ismā‘īl b. Jābir	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Awwād	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Ba‘ḍi aṣḥāb.ā	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Samā‘ah and Ibn Muskān	Sulaymān b. Khalīd	X			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Samā‘ah	X					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Samā‘ah	Abū Baṣīr	X		
‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh			

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Abū Shibl	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīd (Jamī‘ān)	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Samā‘ah b. Mihrān	X			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam and Ṣafwān	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā	X		
Sahl b. Ziyād	‘Alī b. Isbāṭ	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	Al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	Jamīl b. Darrāj	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān	Al-Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim b. Mukram	Sa‘ad al-Iskāf	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī’	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Iṣḥāq b. ‘Ammār	‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Amr	Abū ‘Abdallāh			

	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn								
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī	Zakariyyā al- Mu‘min	Ibn Muskān	Ba‘ḍi aṣḥābihi	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl (or ghyarihi)	Abū Ja‘far						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja‘far b. Bashīr	Ibn Bukayr	Zurārah	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. QAbūsah	‘Abd Allah al-Nishābūrī	Hārūn b. Muslīm	Abū Mūsā	Abū al-‘Alā‘I al-Shāmī	Sufyān al- Thawrī	Abū Ziyād	Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsīm	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	‘Umar b. Yazīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Muḥammad	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl Bazī‘	Manṣūr b. Yūnus	Ḥamzah b. Ḥumrān	‘Abdallāh b. Sulaymān	Abūhi Sulaymān	‘Alī b. al- Ḥusay	

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Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥakam b. Miskīn	Mu‘āwiyah b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ba‘ḍi Aṣḥāb.ā (I assume Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl ‘Alī b. al-Hakam)	Al-‘Alā’i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq Sh‘r	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Ibn Bukayr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī‘ān)	ibn Faddāl	Ibn Bukayr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Abū Khālīd al-Qammāt	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad	Muḥammad	Ṣafwān b.	al-‘Alā’i b.	Muḥammad b.	Ahadihimā				

b. Yaḥyā	b. al-Ḥusayn	Yaḥyā	Razīn	Muslim					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja‘far b. Maḥbūb ‘amman dhakarahu	Abū ‘Abdallāh						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far (al-awwal)					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥajjāl	Tha‘labah	rajulun dhakarahu	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	‘Abdallāh b. Jundab	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	X					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Īsā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (Jamī'ān)	Muḥammad b. Ismā'il Bazī'	Šāliḥ b. 'Uqba	Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Nawfalī	Abū 'Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	'Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim b. Mukram	Abū 'Abdallāh					
al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad	Ja'far b. Muḥammad	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	'Alī al-Šūfī	Khaḍir al-Šayrafī	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (rafa'ahu)	Amīr al-Mu'minīn							
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh	'Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū 'Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan	al-Sayyārī	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn ('amman akhbarahu)	Ismā'il b. al-Fadl al-Hāshimī	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Aslam	Marwān b. Muslim	Burayd b. Mu'āwiyah	Abū 'Abdallāh				
Abū 'Alī al-Ash'arī	Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār	Ibn Faḍḍāl	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Kathīr al-Khazzāz	Abūhi	Abū 'Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	X					
‘Iddatu min Aṣḥāb.ā	Aḥmad b. Abū ‘Abdallāh	Muḥammad b. ‘Alī	‘Ubayd b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn	Abūhi	Jaddihi	Amīr al-Mulminīn		
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Anhu	Muḥammad b. ‘Alī	‘Ubayd b. Yaḥyā al-Thawrī al-‘Atṭār	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Alawī	Abūhi	Jaddihi	‘Alī			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Sulayman b. Muḥammad al-Khath‘amī	Ishāq al-Ṭawīl ‘Atṭār	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	‘Abdallāh b. Jundab	Rajulun min aşḥab	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
‘Iddatu min Aşḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ja‘far b. Bashīr	Dāwud al-Raqqī	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Sālim Abū Salama	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak	‘Abdallāh b. Jabalah	Samā‘ah	Abū Başīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Al-Naḍr b. Shu‘ayb	Al-Jāzī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥakam	Al-‘Alā‘i b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Al-‘Alā‘i	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Ahadihimā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Şafwān	Ya‘qūb b. Shu‘ayb	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Anhu	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Nasr	Abū Jamīlah	Mufaḍḍal b. Ṣāliḥ	Abū al-Ḥasan				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. al-Ḥajjāj	Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsā					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abdallāh b. Jabalah	Ishāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Uthmān b. ‘Isā	Samā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ḥafṣ ‘Awn rafahahu	The Prophet						
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (rafa‘ahu)	X							
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	Abū Khadrījah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Shu‘ayb	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān b. Yahyā	Shu‘ayb	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	Abūhi	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ḥanān	Mu‘āwiyah	Ṭarīf b. Sinān al-Thawrī	Ja‘far b. Muḥammad				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ba‘ḍi Aṣḥābihi	al-‘Alā‘I b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ḥanān b. Sadīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh						
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Aslam al- Jalbī	‘Āsim b. Ḥumayd	Muḥammad b. Qays	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Iṣḥāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Rifā‘ah	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Ṣāliḥ b. Uqba	Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abū Maḥbūb (mithlahu)							

Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	al-‘Alā’I b. Razīn	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt	Abū al-Ḥasan					
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Shu‘ayb	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ibn Faḍḍāl	Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘arī	‘Ubayd b. Zurārah	Abūhi	Abū Ja‘far			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah al-Ghanawī	Ḥarīz	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ṣafwān	Shu‘ayb	Abū Baṣīr	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	Al-Ḥusayn b. Abū al-‘Alā’i	Ishāq	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Abū ‘Alī al-Ash‘arī	Imrān b. Mūsā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilālī	‘Alī b. ‘‘Uqba	Abūhi ‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yahyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Yazīd b. Ishāq	Hārūn b. Ḥamzah	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Yūnus b. Zabyān	X				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Mūsā b. Sa‘dān	‘Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim	‘Abdallāh b. Sinān	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hilāl	‘‘Uqba b. Khālīd	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Alī b. Muḥammad (‘amman dhakarahu)	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Ḥumayd b. Ziyād	al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kindī (jamī‘an)	Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mīthammī	rajulun min aṣḥābihi	Abū ‘Abdallāh			
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	‘Ammihi Ḥamzah b. Bazi‘	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	‘Ammihi Ḥamzah b. Bazi‘	Abū Ja‘far					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Nu‘mān	Ibn Muskān	Muḥammad b. Muslim	Abū Ja‘far				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī‘	Şālih b. ‘Uqba	Abū Hārūn	Abū ‘Abdallāh				

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Bazī'	‘Ammihi Ḥamzah b. Bazi‘	‘Alī b. Suwayd	Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsā				
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl	Şāliḥ b. ‘Uqba	Işḥāq b. ‘Ammār	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abū Dāwud al-Mustariq	Sufyān b. Muş‘ab al-‘Abdī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
‘Iddatu min Aşḥāb.ā	Sahl b. Ziyād	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīd	Muḥammad b. ‘Alī	‘Ubayd b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn	Abūhi	jaddihi	Amīr al-Mu'minīn
Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Işḥāq b. Yazīd	Mihrān	Abūn b. Taghlib and Iddati	Abū ‘Abdallāh				
Sahl b. Ziyād	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	al-Faḍl al-Kātib	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥāmmad b. Abū ‘Abdallāh	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ismā‘īl al-Ju‘fī	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Muḥāmmad b. Abū ‘Abdallāh	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Muḥammad b. Sinān	Ismā‘īl b. Jābir	Abū ‘Abdallāh					

al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ash‘arī	Mu‘allā b. Muḥammad	‘Alī b. Asbāṭ	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd	al-Reḍā					
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Safwān	Dharīḥ	Abū ‘Abdallāh					
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad	Sa‘īd b. al- Mundhir b. Muḥammad	Abūhi	jaddihi	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	Abūhi	jaddihi	Abūhi	Amīr al- Mu'min īn	
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn	‘Abd al- Raḥman b. Abū Hashīm	‘Anbasah b. Bijād al- ‘Ābid	Jābir	Abū Ja‘far				

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